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Bengal Legislative Assembly

Sixth Session, 1939

12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 18th, 19th and 20th
December, 1939

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GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

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THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS

(Official Report of the Sixth Session.)

Volume LV—No. 2.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 12th December, 1939, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, 9 Hon'ble Ministers and 220 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Ravages of flood in Khulna.

*68. **Mr. PATIRAM ROY:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department aware—

(*i*) that the major part of Khulna, specially the southern area has been badly affected by the flood consecutively for the last two years; and

(*ii*) that the poor cultivators of the flood-affected area are in the grip of extreme poverty?

(*b*) If the answers to (*a*) are in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action, if any, the Government propose to take in the matter?

(*c*) Do the Government contemplate remission of rent to the people of the area for this year?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) (*i*) No. The area affected by flood last year was only 500 square miles out of 4,689 square miles. During the current year in the southern portion of the district, seedlings were destroyed in certain areas, once in consequence of excessive rainfall and again in some parts, due to saline inundation.

(*ii*) No.

(*b*) Does not arise.

(*c*) No. Any special case will, however, be dealt with on its merit.

Mr. PROMATHA RANJAN THAKUR: With reference to answer (*c*), will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether it is provided in the Tenancy Act that remission of rent can be dealt with by Government on its merits; if not what is the procedure followed by Government in these cases?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: My friend as a lawyer ought to know that the Bengal Tenancy Act does not provide for remission of rent. It is provided in the Tauzi Manual and Government may grant remission under the rules of the Tauzi Manual.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (*a*) (*2*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the justification of his saying "No" when the Hon'ble Minister himself admits that an area of 500 square miles was affected by flood in the southern portion of the district where the seedlings were destroyed?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, the question is "Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department aware that the poor cultivators of the flood-affected area are in the grip of extreme poverty?" and the answer is "No" and it is a question of fact.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: With reference to answer (*a*) (*i*), will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether half of the 4,689 square miles is covered by the Sunderbans?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: I do not think, Sir, that that question arises here.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I submit, Sir, it arises because it is pointed out that only 500 square miles were affected by flood and it says that the area of the district is 4,689 square miles, I want to point out that of this more than half is covered by the Sunderbans. So only the inhabited portion has to be considered and not the jungles.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: I do not think, Sir, that half of the area is covered by the Sunderbans as suggested by my friend.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether the Tauzi Manual is applicable to the Bengal Tenancy Act?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Yes; it is applicable to the Government khas mahals.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দয়া কোরে বোলবেন কি তিনি প্রথম question এর উত্তরে বোলেছেন যে, সেখানকার অবস্থা খুব খারাপ হয় নাই, এ বিষয়টা সম্বন্ধে তিনি নিজে দেখে শুনে বোল্‌ছেন না কারো রিপোর্ট অনুসারে বোল্‌ছেন ?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many cultivators are involved in this flood-affected area of 500 square miles?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: I ask for notice.

Appointment of Upper Division clerks in Civil Courts of Noakhali.

*69. **Khan Sahib Maulvi AMINULLAH:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether any Upper Division clerk has been appointed in the Civil Courts of Noakhali by the District Judge in the month of October, 1939; and

(*ii*) whether the provisional appointments made by the then District Judge have since been confirmed?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the posts were advertised in any local or Calcutta newspapers?

(*c*) Is it a fact that one of the posts has been filled up by promotion of a Hindu clerk in supersession of the claims of several senior Muslim clerks?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the question of communal ratio as fixed by Government was taken into consideration before the confirmation of the clerks?

MINISTER in charge of the JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur): (*a*) (*i*) No. One clerk provisionally appointed to the Upper Division by promotion from the Lower Division in April, 1939, was confirmed in his appointment in October, 1939.

(*ii*) Does not arise.

(*b*) No. Rule 1013 (*b*) of the High Court Civil Rules and Orders was followed for making selection for this appointment.

(*c*) Yes, on ground of special fitness.

(*d*) Does not arise.

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with reference to answer (*c*) whether several Muhammadan clerks whose claims have been superseded by the promotion of a Hindu have preferred appeals before him, and whether he has disposed of those appeals?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: There are several appeals lying before me and I was under the impression that I should have to go to the district personally to find out if the appeals could be disposed of by the District Judge there. But I could not make any time to go there. I shall shortly go there and dispose of the appeals in course of time.

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state how long these appeals have been pending before him?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: The appeals are pending before me for a long time, but I hope that the District Judge will make amends and therefore the question of appeals will not arise.

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: Is the Hon'ble Minister himself satisfied that the promotion was made on the ground of the special fitness or has the answer been supplied received from the District Judge's court?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: So far as this is concerned, when the appeals will be disposed of then my friend will know whether the action taken was right or wrong.

Appointment of a stenographer by District Judge, Faridpur.

*70. **Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether the District Judge, Faridpur, has recently appointed a junior probationer as stenographer in the higher grade;

(*ii*) whether he was tested before his appointment;

(*iii*) whether there were other applicants qualified in stenography from amongst the staff; and

(*iv*) whether any test has recently been prescribed by the Judicial Department of the Government of Bengal for the appointment of stenographers in the offices under the control of District Judges in Bengal?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*iv*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it was considered by the District Judge in making the appointment of the stenographers?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: (*a*) (*i*) to (*iii*) Yes.

(*iv*) No.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what were the reasons for which the junior probationer was promoted in supersession of the claims of many senior probationers?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: On the ground of special fitness.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the claim of special privilege is that the junior probationer is a Muhammadan?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of asking the High Court to maintain a list of stenographers both Hindu and Muhammadan and instead of allowing the District Judges to take stenographers from among their own staff, request them to take men from the list so to be maintained by the High Court?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Is there any standing rule to fill up a vacancy by promoting a junior Muhammadan officer in supersession of the claims of several senior Hindu officers because it is consistent with the communal ratio of services?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: I refer my hon'ble friend to my reply to starred question 69.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*a*) (*ii*) and (*iii*) regarding test, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what test was applied to ascertain the fitness of the candidates?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: It is for the District Judge to say.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, the answer of the Hon'ble Minister to question (*a*) (*ii*) and (*iii*) is "yes" which means that there has been a test and I am entitled to know what test was applied?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: I was not present when the test was held.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is not impertinence on the part of the Minister to reply in this manner?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order, that question does not arise. I hope honourable members will realize that there are certain functions attached to the officers and there are certain functions attached to the Hon'ble Ministers. Where your question refers to the functions of an officer you ought to specifically make it clear as to what jurisdiction the Hon'ble Minister has got over that function. Suppose there was a test, and that test was not held by the Hon'ble Minister or in his presence. Unless you give sufficient notice to ascertain what test was held, it is not fair to put a question like this. Of course you are entitled to put questions with regard to any appeals in this connection.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I submit with all humility that the question was specific about a test, and in any case the test was held in the department of which the Hon'ble Minister is in charge. In no case does an Hon'ble Minister himself exercise an executive

authority and yet, when a question is set, it is for him to get all the information possible before he comes to the House, particularly when the matter has been definitely referred to in the question.

Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with reference to answer (*a*) (*iii*) the names of the other applicants and the respective period of service and the qualifications of each of them?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: I want notice for a question like this.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Here again, Sir, the Hon'ble Minister has not come prepared for a reply, and if I use strong language you will come upon me. It is really an abuse of the privilege of an Hon'ble Minister. I seek your protection, Sir, because if the Minister refuses——

Mr. SPEAKER: The difficulty is that there is a tendency in some of the questions in which it seems that there is likelihood of interference by the Legislature of every executive and administrative action. On the other hand you are entitled to scrutinise every act of the Minister. Parliamentary Government will never function unless the limits of official action and executive action *versus* Ministerial action are separated.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, as you are the custodian of proper parliamentary functioning of this Legislature, may I submit by quoting May as well as other authorities that questions or interpellations act as most effective checks on the vagaries of the executive Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: Within the last 150 years can you quote any question in which the action of an officer in England has been questioned by the Parliament?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Any number.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am yet to know it.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: As a matter of fact that is exactly the purpose of the question. A particular officer is——

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: While I agree that the appointments may not be the subject-matter of the question, if there has been any arbitrary act or if there has been undue supersession which is bound to demoralize the service, this House by means of questions can bring it to the notice of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, that is possible.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, may I draw your attention to one question—the great Savage Case in which as a result of a question relating to the conduct of one police officer in Perth the whole Legislature of Great Britain came down upon the entire system of police administration. May I know, Sir, if you remember that case?

Mr. SPEAKER: I remember it very well. It relates not to "appointment" of a police officer but the "conduct" the Executive played in that. There is a good deal of difference between the "appointment of" and the "conduct of" an officer.

Condition of rivers in the district of Rajshahi.

***71. Maulvi MOSLEM ALI MOLLAH:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department aware that almost all the rivers in the district of Rajshahi have been silted up?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps, if any, the Government contemplate for their improvement?

(*c*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that *kathas* and *aryas* for fishing purposes are set up every year in those dying rivers of the district obstructing the natural drainage of the rivers, hastening their death?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he proposes to take in the matter?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMUNICATIONS and WORKS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Maharaja Srishchandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar): (*a*) I am informed that the facts are not as suggested in the question.

(*b*) A scheme for improving the river Narode has been prepared and I am now considering the question of financing it. Schemes for improving other moribund rivers in the district will be investigated as soon as the contour survey of North Bengal is completed.

(*c*) Yes.

(*d*) Steps are taken to remove them whenever detected, and I trust that the hon'ble member will use his influence to secure the co-operation of the public with the officers of Government in this matter.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with reference to answer (*b*) where it is stated "for improving the river Narode", whether it is the only scheme for the resuscitation of moribund rivers in Rajshahi undertaken during his period of Ministership?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I am afraid, Sir, improvement of the river Narode has not been undertaken yet. We are just considering the question of financing it.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is considering the question of financing it now, or whether he has considered it before and whether any measures will be undertaken in the coming Budget?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Sir, I may say that a contour survey of the North Bengal is in contemplation with a view to improving the condition of the rivers including the Rajshahi district.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, my question has not been answered. The Hon'ble Minister will be pleased to refer to the first part of his answer (*b*) where he says "a scheme for improving the river Narode has been prepared and I am now considering the question of financing it". My question was whether any financial measures will be undertaken in respect of that river in the coming Budget?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Sir, I will be in a position to give a more definite reply to that during the Budget discussion.

Mr. SURENDRA MOHAN MAITRA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state by whom was he informed that the facts as stated in question (*a*) are not as suggested in the question.

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: That is the view of the departmental officers.

Mr. SURENDRA MOHAN MAITRA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be prepared to place before the House the report of the departmental officers?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: No, Sir.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he will issue a circular to his subordinates enjoining upon them to remove the *kathas* and *aryas* wherever they exist and not to connive at their setting up?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I do not think, Sir, that the question arises out of this question.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Grievances of people against Reserve Forests.

21. Mr. MAHIM CHANDRA DAS: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Forests and Excise Department aware of the announcement made by the Premier of Bengal during the last voting on demands for grants under the head "Forests" that certain grievances of the people dealing with Forest Reserve will be remedied in near future?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps, if any, have since then been taken with regard to the Chittagong Forests?

MINISTER in charge of the FORESTS and EXCISE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikut): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) A committee has already been set up to advise Government on the advisability of disafforesting the Rampur and Charandwip Blocks of the Chakaria Sunderbans Reserved Forest. The Committee will take up the investigation shortly.

Government has also decided to appoint another Committee on grazing and grazing grounds. The protected forests are being inspected with a view to the disafforestation of such portions as can be suitably utilized for cultivation and a number of such areas have already been notified as ceasing to be protected forest. Certain articles of use for thatching purposes have been exempted from the payment of royalty and are now available to poor persons without payment. The arrangements for simplification of procedure in respect of the control of forest produce from private forests are not yet complete, but action is being taken to assist owners of private forests so far as may be possible.

Firewood passes are now no longer required to be taken out by persons who have taken out permits for grazing in the reserved and protected forests.

Disciplinary action continues to be taken against forest subordinates found guilty of corruption.

Sanction has been given to the appointment of two paid *shikaris* and one tracker for killing of wild elephants destroying agricultural crops. If experience shows that the scheme effectively reduces the damage to crops, Government will consider the question of expansion.

22. The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, may I reply to the supplementaries to this question on behalf of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the Hon'ble the Chief Minister should himself reply. Let this question stand over till to-morrow.

***Condition of Uchalan-Ekloki Road in Burdwan.**

23. Mr. ADWAITA KUMAR MAJI: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department aware of the present condition of a provincial road, namely, Uchalan to Ekloki Road, maintained by the District Board of Burdwan?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, what steps does the Hon'ble Minister propose to take for the repair of the road which is one of the main thoroughfares of the Burdwan, Hooghly and Bankura districts.

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: (*a*) No.

(*b*) As the road belongs to the Burdwan District Board, I think that the hon'ble member should refer the matter to them.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that the Uchalan-Ekloki Road is a provincial road?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: No, Sir, it is not a provincial road.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITI: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the old road is maintained by the District Board out of the funds supplied from the Provincial Revenues?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: No, Sir.

Submission of list of voters by Bhogdanga Union Board to the District Magistrate, Rangpur.

24. Kazi EMDADUL HAQUE: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Subdivisional Officer of Kurigram asked the Bhogdanga Union Board in police-station Kurigram, to submit its voters' list for the Rangpur District Board election to come by the 10th of July, 1938, by a letter Nos. 2616-2702?

(*b*) If so—

(*i*) is it a fact that the said letter was issued from the office of the Subdivisional Officer only on the 2nd of July, 1938, and the Union Board referred to received it on the 3rd July, 1938;

(*ii*) is it a fact that 10th July, 1938, being Sunday, a reference was made on 7th July by the Union Board enquiring how the voters' list could be submitted on that day as the office of the Subdivisional Officer would remain closed;

(*iii*) is it a fact that the dealing clerk in the Subdivisional Officer's office returned the letter of reference to the Union Board with a note advising the Union Board to submit the voters' list on the day following, *i.e.*, on the 11th of July, 1938;

(*iv*) is it a fact that on the 10th July, 1938, the Subdivisional Officer's office was closed;

(*v*) is it a fact that the Union Board clerk came to submit the voters' list on the 10th July, but finding none in the Subdivisional Officer's office, had to go back and then submitted the same on the 11th July, 1938;

(*vi*) is it a fact that the voters' list submitted by the Bhogdanga Union Board bore the date 10th July, 1938;

(*vii*) is it a fact that in the publication of the voters' list for the Rangpur District Board, the names of voters of the Bhogdanga Union have not been included; and

(*viii*) if so, why?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether 1,294 voters in the Union Bhogdanga will have the privilege of exercising their right of franchise in the ensuing District Board election?

MINISTER in charge of the LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja Habibullah Bahadur, of Dacca): (*a*) Yes.

(b) (i) The letter bore the date 30th June, 1938, but was actually issued on 2nd July, 1938. Government have no information as to when it was received by the Union Board.

(ii) and (iii) It appears that the clerk of the Union Board made an informal reference to the dealing clerk of the Subdivisional Officer's office to this effect and was informed by the latter that the list might be submitted by 11 a.m. on the 11th July, 1938.

(iv) The Subdivisional Officer reports that some member of the staff of his office attends office even on Sundays.

(v) Government have no such information.

(vi) Yes.

(vii) The hon'ble member must have been misinformed on this point as the voters' list for the District Board election has not yet been published.

(viii) Does not arise.

(c) Yes.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSH: With reference to reply (vii), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enlighten us, though the list may not have been published, whether the list of the Board of Revenue includes the District Board voters?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: As it has not yet been published I cannot say.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Sir, the Hon'ble Minister says that the list has not been published but he does not give any clear idea as to whether the list to be published in future would contain the Union Board voters.

Mr. SPEAKER: How does that question arise—it cannot arise out of this question.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Sir, my contention is this, that the list of voters of a particular Union Board has not been included deliberately by the attempt of some officials. This is the gist of the question. The Hon'ble Minister says since it has not been published, he cannot give any information. Surely, he can officially give us the information whether this has been included for publication, when it will be issued for publication. That is what the House wants to know. Because, if the Hon'ble Minister gives no assurance to-day, it may so happen that the list may be excluded.

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: Sir, unless a list is published, how can the hon'ble member say that these voters have not been included in it. When the actual thing happens, then he can ask why that has not been published?

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enquire whether the list of that particular Union Board has already been taken into consideration to be published in due time?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I shall enquire.

Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a practice at Kurigram to keep Criminal Courts open on Sundays for public transactions?

Mr. SPEAKER: How does that question arise?

Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: There is the answer given by the Hon'ble Minister that the Subdivisional Officer reports that some members of the staff of his office attend office even on Sundays. My question is whether there is a practice at Kurigram to keep Criminal Courts open for transacting particular business on Sundays.

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: It is not the general practice to keep offices open on Sundays.

Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Was this fact published for the information of the public that on that particular occasion, the Court will be kept open?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: Everyone is aware that Sundays being holidays, there can be no office, but there may be special occasions when a man of his own free will works, but he cannot be compelled to do it.

Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: My point is whether that particular occasion was known to the public.

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: Which particular occasion?

Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: That on that particular day, the 10th of July, some Court Officers will attend Court to transact that particular business?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I cannot say if the public were aware of the fact that certain officers would attend on that particular day.

Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether a provisional list of the voters of the District Board was published a few weeks back?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: In regard to this question, I wish to say that before a voters' list can be published, the delimitation of the constituencies has to take place, and as yet Government has not approved of the delimitation of the constituencies. So, no voters' list can be published now.

Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when it is expected that the final voters' list will be published?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: As soon as the delimitation question is settled.

Adjournment Motion.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I gave notice of an adjournment motion to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the situation arising out the Government's failure to fix a minimum price for sugarcane. You will remember, Sir, that the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan was good enough to admit that the price of sugarcane was very low, and he promised to take steps in the matter. But we understand, Sir, that nothing as yet has been done. If you enquire of the condition of the cane-growers in the vicinity of the mill areas, you will find that although the price of sugar is shooting up rapidly, still the price of sugarcane is being put down to annas 4-6 per maund. Only in the neighbouring provinces somethings substantial has been done in this matter. May I know, Sir, how my adjournment motion stands? May I know if I am going to have your consent in this matter?

Mr. SPEAKER: I quite realize your point, but it does not come within the purview of an adjournment motion.

SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: It comes this way, Sir. The Hon'ble Minister himself admitted that the price is low and promised to take steps in the matter, and as yet nothing has been done. May I know informally from the Hon'ble Minister as to whether anything has been done in this matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: The matter is being investigated, which is absolutely necessary before taking any steps in the matter.

Mr. SANSANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Will you kindly expedite the investigation? That is all that is necessary.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: May I know what is the investigation which is absolutely necessary? We all know that the price is annas 4-6, and Bihar has fixed 8 annas as the minimum price. What are the points on which investigation is necessary before these poor cultivators can get relief?

Mr. SANSANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: When the price of sugar was Rs. 7 per maund, the price of sugarcane was 4 annas 6 pies. To-day, the price is Rs. 14 per maund, still the poor cultivators are compelled to sell their sugarcane at that price.

Mr. SPEAKER: Anyway, I have not given my consent.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: May we know, Sir, when the discussion on the Raw Jute Futures Ordinance will be resumed?

Mr. SPEAKER: The moment we get a little time.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: During this session, Sir? (Laughter.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope so.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The Bengal Jute Regulation Bill, 1939.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I beg to present the report of the Select Committee on the Bengal Jute Regulation Bill, 1939.

Mr. SPEAKER: When do you propose to take up this matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: On the 18th.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, from the minute of dissent given by us I find some asterisks and certain portions have been omitted. May I know, Sir, why they have been omitted.

Mr. SPEAKER: If any portions have been omitted, there must be some reason for it. I shall look into the matter, and I will be able to tell you the reason later.

Mr. Gupta, it is proposed to take up the Jute Regulation Bill on the 18th. So, if I ask you to give notice of amendments by the 14th not up to 3 p.m., but say even up to 8 p.m., I hope it will not inconvenience you.

Mr. DIHRENDRA NATH DATTA: My submission, Sir, is that it is a very important Bill, and requires a very careful consideration before submitting amendments.

Mr. SPEAKER: I quite realize it. Therefore, I was good enough—to quote one of the Hon'ble Ministers—to admit short-notice amendments. In case there is any amendment which members can propose, I shall always be glad to accept it, but for the purpose of allowing the matters to go through, I think we might fix the 14th as the last date for notice of amendments.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: Shall we make it 15th, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope Mr. Gupta will realize my difficulty, and this is a matter to which I want to draw the Hon'ble Finance Minister's attention very particularly, that our office has been working for the last 10 days almost every night. One after another these short notices are coming in. I am quite prepared to work on Sundays, but if we make it 15th, 16th is a Saturday and on the 18th we are going to take it up. We have got to edit, send it to the press, and tabulate it. For all these things we should have at least two days' time.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: We find that the present Government changes its business very often. We who have experience of legislative proceedings knew that all these agenda were circulated in good time, but if the office is overworked, that is because the Government is changing its business.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must say that the office is worked almost to the breaking point. However, I am fixing 14th as the last date for amendments. But members will kindly realize that even though the time for notice is fixed for the 14th up to 8 p.m., if they send any amendments after party meetings, I shall be prepared in special circumstances to accept such party amendments even at a later stage.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: May I draw your attention again to the new rules that have been framed under which a certain number of days have been specifically laid down as the minimum number of days necessary for notice of amendments?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am going to settle this matter with Government.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: In every matter you are going to give special privilege to Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: I may assure you, Dr. Sanyal, that the work in my Assembly Department has become more impossible than anywhere else. I am in a position to say that the staff, especially the menials, have to work very hard, sometimes whole night. My difficulty is that I have no control over the Budget. If I had, then I would have been able to do something.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Why do you accept these. Ask the Government to comply with the rules.

Mr. SPEAKER: Personally I would have been very glad not to do it.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Suspend the rules altogether or extend the same privilege to non-official business also.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have done that in your case also.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: No, Sir.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: We as a party prefer to send in amendments after we had an occasion to discuss the matter in a party meeting. Every time Government is placing us in such a position that our party members cannot meet together to discuss and decide upon the points before sending in the amendments which necessitate extra work. We have to send in our amendments within such a short time that at the time of actual discussion we see that we need not move them at all. If the Department do not accept short-notice amendments over a Bill or a Resolution, then all these difficulties will be obviated, and at least we may be in a position to work——.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: For the sake of convenience may I suggest this——

Mr. Khwaja SHAHABUDDIN: My friend Mr. Gupta has expressed his difficulties and I sympathise with him. The only thing I want to point out is that so far, we have not raised any objection to any amendments that have been given notice of by the Opposition—a short-notice amendment or a short-notice question or things like that.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You have no business to oppose. It is for the Speaker.

Mr. Khwaja SHAHABUDDIN: As far as the shortage of staff is concerned, I think I spoke to you, Mr. Speaker, yesterday that we were arranging at a very early date a conference with you and the Hon'ble the Finance Minister, so that the whole matter might be gone into thoroughly and it might be decided what additional staff would be necessary to carry on the work satisfactorily.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: I have listened with due respect to what the Parliamentary Secretary and the Chief Whip of Government has said. I may remind him that in every instance Government take time to make up their mind and as soon as they have decided anything in a party meeting, they move a special resolution or bring in a special Bill.

Mr. SPEAKER: We have to finish the work soon. I have no objection to extending the time. What I shall have to do is to keep the press open on Sunday. In case the press objects, I hope the Hon'ble the Finance Minister will kindly see that it is kept open. In that case I can fix Friday up to 3 p.m. as the time for sending in notices of amendments.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Government motion in this connection should be finally and definitely given to you by that time, so that there may be no change of Government motion thereafter.

Mr. SPEAKER: This time that cannot be done.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: In that case we will have no chance of moving short-notice amendments.

Mr. SPEAKER: I take it that this Bill will be taken up on the 18th and a circular will be issued requesting the members to send in notices of their amendments by 3 p.m. on the 15th.

We will now take up the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes at 5-22 p.m.)

(*After adjournment.*)

The Bengal Tenancy (Third Amendment) Bill, 1939.

[Further discussion on the Bengal Tenancy (Third Amendment) Bill, 1939, was resumed.]

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 3 (*4*), in proposed sub-section (*11*) of section 26G, line 8, for the word "eight", the words "six and a quarter" be substituted.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 3(*4*) in proposed sub-section (*11*) of section 26G, line 8, for the word "eight", the word "six" be substituted.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: In view of the Government amendments these amendments may not be necessary.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NTAH DATTA: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 3(*4*) in proposed sub-section (*11*) of section 26G, line 8, for the word "eight", the words "four and a half" be substituted.

Mr. JATINDRA NATH BASU (on behalf of Maharaja Shashi Kanta Acharyya Chaudhury): Sir, I beg to move that in clause 3 (*4*), in proposed sub-section (*15*) of section 26G, line 1, the following words be omitted, namely:—

"An" and "To the District Judge".

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 3, before sub-clause (*1*), the following sub-clause be inserted, namely:—

"(*a1*) in sub-section (*1a*) for the words 'every usufructuary mortgage' the words and brackets 'every mortgage (including a mortgage by conditional sale) entered into by an occupancy-*raiyat* in respect of his holding or of a portion or share thereof, in which possession of land is delivered to the mortgagee' shall be substituted".

Sir, I beg also to move that in clause 3 in sub-clause (*4*) in proposed sub-section (*7*) of section 26G, the words, figure and brackets "subject to the provisions of sub-section (*9*)" be omitted.

Sir, I beg also to move that in clause 3, in sub-clause (*4*), the whole of the proposed sub-sections (*9*), (*10*), (*11*), (*12*), (*13*), (*14*), and (*15*) of section 26G be omitted.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, these amendments of the Hon'ble Minister have not been supplied to us.

Mr. SPEAKER: Oh yes, they have been supplied.

Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Sir, I beg to movt that in clause 3 in amendment No. 163 in line 5, after the words "every mortgage" the following words be inserted, namely:—

"or any other instrument that may be interpreted as mortgage".

Mr. SPEAKER: The Governor's sanction is required so you cannot move your amendment No. 171.

Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 3 in amendment No. 165, line 3, the following expression be omitted, namely:—

"(*10*), (*11*), (*12*), (*13*), (*14*), and (*15*)".

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to say a few explanatory words in respect to my amendment No. 170. In the short-notice amendment of Government the Hon'ble Minister in charge uses the words "every mortgage", but I beg to bring to his notice that in order to avoid the 15-year rule some sort of new instruments are being created in the mufassil. As, for example, in my district an instrument has been invented, namely, *jote-patta*, where the word "mortgage" is not at all mentioned, but the word "lease" is mentioned, and in that document it is stated that for certain period the property is given on lease and if after twenty or twenty-two years the *salami* is returned, then the property will be given back. It is, in fact, usufructuary mortgage. By my amendment I beg to insert the words "any other instrument that may be interpreted as mortgage". I hope the Hon'ble Minister will be able to accept this amendment.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: I beg formally to oppose this amendment.

The motion of Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar that in clause 3 in amendment No. 163, in line 5, after the words "every mortgage" the following words be inserted, namely:—

"or any other instrument that may be interpreted as mortgage",

was then put and lost.

The motion of Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar that in clause 3, in amendment No. 165, line 3, the following expression be omitted, namely:—

"(*10*), (*11*), (*12*), (*13*), (*14*) and (*15*)."

was then put and lost.

The three motions of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy that—

(*1*) in clause 3, before sub-clause (*1*) the following sub-clause be inserted, namely:—

"(*a1*) in sub-section (*1a*) for the words 'every usufructuary mortgage' the words and brackets 'every mortgage (including a mortgage by conditional sale) entered into by an occupacy-*raiyat* in respect of his holding or of a portion of share thereof, in which possession of land is delivered to the mortgagee' shall be substituted."

(*2*) in clause 3, in sub-clause (*4*), in proposed sub-section (*7*) of section 26G, the words, figure and brackets "subject to the provisions of sub-section (*9*)" be omitted.

(*3*) in clause 3, in sub-clause (*4*), the whole of the proposed sub-sections (*9*), (*10*), (*11*), (*12*), (*13*), (*14*) and (*15*) of section 26G be omitted,

were put and agreed to.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: On a point of order, Sir. তিনটে amendments এক সঙ্গে নিলে কিসের উপর ভোট হবে।

Mr. SPEAKER: That is finished.

Mr. Datta, will you speak on your amendment?

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Sir, my amendment becomes unnecessary. But I want to speak or the amendment moved by Government, in which the words "every mortgage (including a mortgage by conditional sale) entered into by an occupancy-*raiyat* in respect of his holding or of a portion or share thereof in which possession of land is delivered to the mortgagee" have been sought to be inserted. I submit, Sir, that there is no necessity to include the words "including a mortgage by conditional sale". If you want to keep the words "mortgage by conditional sale" you shall have to add after the word "sale" the words and "anomalous mortgages" or you shall have to omit the words "including a mortgage by conditional sale". This will make the meaning clear.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, the point which has been raised by the honourable member is fully realised by me and may I just reply to save the time of the House. I agree with what he said, but I am not responsible for the drafting. The draft was produced by the collective wisdom of the Government supporters and I had to agree to the insertion of these words.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: I may say, Sir, that this addition will give room to unnecessary litigation. Some judges will hold that "anomalous mortgage" is not included because there are the words "including a mortgage by conditional sale". If the words "anomalous mortgage" are included then it will read "every mortgage including a mortgage by conditional sale and anomalous mortgage; otherwise the existing words "including a mortgage by conditional sale" should be omitted. My friends on the other side perhaps have not realised this difficulty——

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: আমার এই বিষয়ের উপর বক্তব্য এই যে এ sub-clauseকে opposeও করা যায় না, supportও করা যায় না। কথা হচ্ছে —বর্তমান ব্যবস্থা জারি হোলে কৃষকদের টাকা ধার পাওয়া অসম্ভব হবে। তাদের জমি বিক্রয় কোরে টাকা নিতে হবে। আর সে জমি বন্ধক দিলে, কিছুদিন পরে তা ফিরে পাবার একটা সম্ভাবনা থাকে। এখন মর্টগেজ দেওয়া সম্পূর্ণ বন্ধ হোয়ে যাচ্ছে। এর ফলে সব জমি তাদের বিক্রয় কোরতে হবে। এবং আস্তে আস্তে মহাজনদের হাতে সব জমি চোলে যাবে—মহাজনদের হাতে প্রজারা গেলে তারা খুব মুস্কিলে পোড়ে যাবে। Land Alienation Act যেমন অন্যান্য provinceএ আছে এ প্রদেশেও সেরূপ আইন হওয়া দরকার—যারা কৃষিকার্য্য করে না, এ রকম কোন শ্রেণীর হাতে যদি জমি যাওয়া বন্ধ না করা যায় তাহলে আমাদের দেশের কৃষকেরা অচিরেই landless classএ পরিণত হবে। আমরা গভর্ণমেন্টের কাছ থেকে জানতে চাই সত্যই তারা এরকম একটা আইন করতে চান কিনা (A MEMBER FROM THE COALITION PARTY : শীঘ্রই সে বিল আসছে) এ বিষয়ে গভর্ণমেন্ট কি কি বিবেচনা কোরেছেন সেইটে আমরা জানতে চাই।

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: May I be allowed, Sir, to move two short-notice amendmehts? My speech will have no effect but, Sir, I want to move them. My first amendment is to add the words "and anomalous mortgages" after the words "including a mortgage by conditional sale". The second is that the words "including a mortgage by conditional sale" be deleted.

Mr. SPEAKER: I accept your short-notice amendments and put them to the House.

The short-notice amendments of Mr. Dhirendra Nath Datta were then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Nikunja Behary Maiti that in clause 3 (*4*), in proposed sub-section (*11*) of section 26-G, line 8, for the word "eight" the words "six and a quarter" be substituted was then put and lost.

Mr. SPEAKER: Amendments Nos. 43-45 and 46-49 fall through in view of the amendment of the Hon'ble Sir Bojoy Prasad Singh Roy being carried. Such is the case in respect of Amendment No. 62 moved by Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu on behalf of Maharaja Shashi Kanta Acharyya Chaudhury.

The motion that clause 3 as amended stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

Mr. JATINDRA NATH BASU (on behalf of Maharaja Shashi Kanta Acharyya Chaudhury): I beg to move that in clause 5, in proposed section 168A, before sub-section (*1*), the following be inserted, namely:—

"(*a1*) A landlord shall in the first instance proceed against the defaulting tenure or holding in execution of his decree for arrears of rent".

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: I beg to move that in clause 5, in clause (*a*) of sub-section (*1*) of proposed section 168A, line 6, the word "entire" be omitted.

I also beg to move that in clause 5, in proposed section 168 (*a*) (*1*), in lines 7 and 8, after the words "or certificate relates" the following be inserted, namely:—

"or by the detention in the civil prison of the judgment-debtor or by the sale of houses and other buildings with the materials and sites thereof and the lands immediately appurtenant thereto and necessary for their enjoyment:

Provided that the site of the house and the land immediately by appurtenant thereto may be sold in execution of a decree for arrears of rent due in respect of the site of such house only".

I beg also to move that in clause 5, in the proposed new section 168A(*1*), the following new clause be inserted after clause (*a*), namely:—

"(*aa*) where a decree-holder applies for execution of a decree or a certificate referred to in clause (*a*) only that portion of such holding or tenure shall be sold the proceeds of the sale of which will be sufficient to satisfy the amount due under the decree or a certificate under the Public Demands Recovery Act, 1913, and such portion shall not be sold at a price lower than the price specified in the proclamation of sale; and Court or the Certificate Officer shall, before putting up any such portion of a holding or tenure for sale, estimate the value of the whole holding or tenure and that portion of the holding or tenure, the proceeds of the sale of which the Court or the Certificate Officer considers will be sufficient to satisfy the decree or certificate, and shall specify the price of such portion in the sale proclamation:

Provided that if the decree-holder specifies which portion of the holding or tenure should be sold, the Court or the Certificate Officer shall order that such portion or so much of such portion as may seem to him necessary to satisfy the decree shall be sold.

Provided further that if the highest amount bid for the property included in the sale proclamation is less than the price specified for such property in the proclamation, the Court or the Certificate Officer may sell the property for such highest amount if the decree-holder consents in writing to forego so much of the amount decreed, as is equal to the difference between the highest amount bid and the price specified for such property in the sale proclamation.

Provided further if the Court or a Certificate Officer directs the sale of a portion of a holding or tenure, the provisions of this Act relating to the sale of the entire holding or tenure, shall as far as may be, apply to the sale of such portion, and the proceeds shall be paid as provided in this Act."

I further beg to move that in clause 5, in clause (*b*) of sub-section (*1*) of proposed section 168A in line 7, after the word "sale" the following words be added, namely:—

"and the arrears of rent on the tenure or holding as the case may be up to the date of sale which shall include the decree for arrears of rent also."

I also beg to move that in clause 5, after clause (*b*) of sub-section (*1*) of proposed section 168A, the following new clause be inserted, namely:—

"(*c*) If the decree-holder be a purchaser at a sale referred to in clause (*a*) he shall have to purchase for the entire amount due under the decree or certificate together with costs incurred in bringing the tenure or holding to sale and by that purchase the arrears of rent due up to the date of sale which shall include also the decree for arrears of rent shall be deemed to have been satisfied".

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 5, in proposed section 168A(*1*)(*a*) after the figures "1913" the following words be inserted, namely:—

"or a decree for payment of money on account of rent payable for a tenure or holding when obtained by a sole landlord or an entire body of landlords in preference to a decree for arrears of rent obtainable under this Act."

Sir, I also beg to move that in clause 5 of the Bill in proposed section 168A(*1*)(*b*) after the words "to sale" the following words be inserted:—

"and any rent which may have become payable to the decree-holder between the date of the institution of the suit and the date of the confirmation of the sale."

Mr. SPEAKER: Now, Mr. Datta, you can deliver your speech.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Sir, the object of my amendment with regard to section 168A(*1*)(*a*) is that the entire holding should not be allowed to be sold. It is the experience of all of us that for a very small sum, even for Rs. 10, a large tenure-holding is sold. Sir, it is not necessary that the entire holding should be allowed to be sold. What is necessary is that when a decree is put into execution, the Court will determine which portion of the holding will be sufficient to fetch the decretal amount, and will put that portion of the holding only for sale. The object of my amendments No. 87 and No. 88 is also for the same purpose, namely, that the Court will put up for sale that portion of the holding only which will be sufficient to satisfy the decretal dues. In case the decree-holder does not get the whole decretal amount, he will be compelled to forego so much of the amount

decreed, as is equal to the difference between the sale price and the decretal amount. This is a provision which I think is salutary. There is absolutely no necessity of having the whole tenure sold for the purpose of realizing a small decretal due.

Then, Sir, with respect to other amendments, I do not think it will be necessary, after the amendments that have been moved by the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, for me to dilate on it. My idea was that if a decree be obtained for the year 1943 and in execution of the decree a property or holding is sold, and if after the decree there are arrears of rent not only for the year 1943 but for the years 1944 and 1945, the purchaser will be compelled to pay the arrears of rent for 1944-45. Or in other words, if a purchaser purchases a holding, he will not only be compelled to pay the whole of the decretal amount, but he will be compelled to pay the arrears of rent which may become payable to the decree-holder between the date of the institution of the suit and the confirmation of the sale. This is the amendment moved by my friend the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy. My idea is that if the decree-holder be the auction-purchaser, he shall have to purchase for the entire amount due under the decree and by that purchase the arrears of rent due up to the date of sale, which shall also include the decree for arrears of rent shall be deemed to be satisfied.

I do not know if my friends on the other side have understood these amendments. I quite realize that it is very difficult because we are rushing through all these amendments, which require careful consideration. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the point which is troubling me is that we are rushing through this legislation without caring for the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the amendments. It has been our experience that when we appear before the Judges, they complain "you are the legislators; you make laws which are absolutely impossible of interpretation." These are the difficulties and I place them before the House. Another difficulty is that if any amendments are moved by us, even if they are reasonable, they are not accepted by the other side. So my submission is that with respect to the first amendment the entire holding should not be sold, and only that portion of the holding which is sufficient to satisfy the decretal amount must be sold. I think with respect to this amendment the members of the Coalition Group must be induced to support me, because this is an amendment not in favour of the landlords, but it is an amendment in favour of the tenants. It is said that the members of the Coalition Group are always for the tenants. If this statement be true, I think this amendment will be accepted by the members of the other side.

I do not want to trouble the House any more and with these few words, I commend my amendments for the acceptance of the House.

The motions of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy that in clause 5, in proposed section 168A(*1*)(*a*) after the figures "1913" the following words be inserted, namely:—

"or a decree for payment of money on account of rent payable for a tenure or holding when obtained by a sole landlord or an entire body of landlords in preference to a decree for arrears of rent obtainable under this Act,"

and

that in clause 5 of the Bill in proposed section 168(*1*)(*b*) after the words "to sale" the following words be inserted:—

"and any rent which may have become payable to the decree-holder between the date of the institution of the suit and the date of the confirmation of the sale",,

were then put and agreed to.

The motion of Maharaja Shashi Kanta Acharyya Chaudhury moved by Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu that in clause 5, in proposed section 163A, before sub-section (*1*), the following be inserted, namely:—

"(*a1*) A landlord shall in the first instance proceed against the defaulting tenure or holding in execution of his decree for arrears of rent",

was then put and lost.

Mr. SPEAKER: As Mr. Dutta has moved five amendments on the same line and to the same clause 5, I will put them together.

The motions of Mr. Dhirendra Nath Datta—

That in clause 5, in clause (*a*), of sub-section (*1*) of proposed section 168A, line 6, the word "entire" be omitted;

That in clause 5, in proposed section 168(*1*)(*a*), in lines 7 and 8, after the words "or certificate relates" the following be inserted, namely:—

"or by the detention in the civil prison of the judgment-debtor or by the sale of houses and other buildings with the materials and sites thereof and the lands immediately appurtenant thereto and necessary for their enjoyment:

Provided that the site of the house and the land immediately by appurtenant thereto may be sold in execution of a decree for arrears of rent due in respect of the site of such house only":

That in clause 5, in the proposed new section 168A(*1*), the following new clause be inserted after clause (*a*), namely:—

"(*aa*) where a decree-holder applies for execution of a decree or a certificate referred to in clause (*a*) only that portion of such holding or tenure shall be sold the proceeds of the sale of which will be sufficient to satisfy the amount due under the decree or a certificate under the Public Demands Recovery Act, 1913, and such portion shall not be sold at a price lower than the price specified in the proclamation of sale; and Court or the Certificate Officer shall, before putting up any such portion of a holding or tenure for sale, estimate the value of the whole holding or tenure and that portion of the holding or tenure, the proceeds of the sale of which the Court or the Certificate Officer considers will be sufficient to satisfy the decree or certificate, and shall specify the price of such portion in the sale proclamation:

Provided that if the decree-holder specifies which portion of the holding or tenure should be sold, the Court or the Certificate Officer shall order that such portion or so much of such portion as may seem to him necessary to satisfy the decree shall be sold.

Provided further that if the highest amount bid for the property included in the sale proclamation is less than the price specified for such property in the proclamation, the Court or the Certificate Officer may sell the property for such highest amount if the decree-holder consents in writing to forego so much of the amount decreed, as is equal to the difference between the highest amount bid and the price specified for such property in the sale proclamation.

Provided further if the Court or a Certificate Officer directs the sale of a portion of a holding or tenure, the provisions of this Act relating to the sale of the entire holding or tenure, shall as far as may be, apply to the sale of such portion, and the proceeds shall be paid as provided in this Act."

That in clause 5, in clause (*b*) of sub-section (*1*) of proposed section 168A, in line 7, after the words "sale", the following words be added, namely:—

"and the arrears of rent on the tenure or holding as the case may be up to the date of sale which shall include the decree for arrears of rent also."

That in clause 5, after clause (*b*) of sub-section (*1*) of proposed section 168A, the following new clause be inserted, namely:—

"(*c*) If the decree-holder be a purchaser at a sale referred to in clause (*a*) he shall have to purchase for the entire amount due under the decree or certificate together with costs incurred in bringing the tenure or holding to sale and by that purchase the arrears of rent due up to the date of sale which shall include also the decree for arrears of rent shall be deemed to have been satisfied."

were then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—63.

Abdul Wahed, Maulvi.
Abu Hossain Sarkar, Maulvi.
Abul Fazl, Mr. Md.
Ahmed Khan, Mr. Syed.
Asimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Banerji, Mr. P.
Banerjee, Mr. Pramatha Nath.
Banerji, Mr. Satya Priya.
Banerjee, Mr. Sibnath.
Barma, Babu Prembari.
Barma, Mr. Pupajit.
Barman, Babu Shyama Prosad.
Barman, Babu Upendra Nath.
Bhaumik, Dr. Gobinda Chandra.
Biswas, Babu Lakshmi Narayan.
Biswas, Mr. Rasik Lal.
Biswas, Mr. Surendra Nath.
Bose, Mr. Sarat Chandra.
Chakraborty, Mr. Jatindra Nath.
Chakraborty, Babu Narendra Narayan.
Chattopadhyay, Mr. Haripada.
Das, Babu Mahim Chandra.
Das, Babu Radhanath.
Das, Mr. Manmohan.
Das Gupta, Babu Khagendra Nath.
Datta, Mr. Dhirendra Nath.
Dolui, Mr. Harendra Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Sukumar.
Dutta Mozumder, Mr. Niharendu.
Emdadul Haque, Kazi.
Ganguly, Mr. Prabul Chandra.
Ghose, Mr. Atul Krishna.
Giasuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Goswami, Mr. Tulsi Chandra.
Gupta, Mr. Jogesh Chandra.
Jalan, Mr. I. D.
Jonab Ali Majumdar, Maulvi.
Khan, Mr. Debendra Lall.
Kumar, Mr. Atul Chandra.
Kundu, Mr. Nishitha Nath.
Maiti, Mr. Nikunja Behari
Maitra, Mr. Surendra Mohan.
Maji, Mr. Adwaita Kumar.
Majumdar, Mrs. Hemaprova.
Mandal, Mr. Amrita Lal.
Mandal, Mr. Jogendra Nath.
Mandal, Mr. Krishna Prasad.
Moqbul Hossain, Mr.
Mukherjee, Mr. B.
Mukherji, Dr. Sarat Chandra.
Mullick, Srijut Ashutosh.
Pain, Mr. Barada Prosanna.
Pramanik, Mr. Tarinicharan.
Ramizuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Roy, Mr. Charu Chandra.
Roy, Mr. Kamalkrishna.
Roy, Mr. Kiran Sankar.
Roy, Mr. Manmatha Nath.
Sen, Mr. Atul Chandra.
Shahedali, Mr.
Shamsuddin Ahmed, Mr. M.
Sinha, Srijut Manindra Bhusan.
Thakur, Mr. Pramatha Ranjan.

NOES—102.

Abdul Aziz, Maulana Md.
Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Mirza.
Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Mia.
Abdul Hakim, Maulvi.
Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri, Maulvi Md.
Abdul Hamid, Mr. A. M.
Abdul Hamid Khan, Maulvi.
Abdul Karim, Mr.
Abdul Latif Biswas, Maulvi.
Abdul Majid, Mr. Syed.
Abdul Wahab Khan, Mr.
Abdur Rahman, Khan Bahadur A. F. M.
Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Mr.
Abdur Rashed, Maulvi Md.
Abdur Rauf, Khan Sahib Maulvi S.
Abdur Rauf, Khan Bahadur Shah.
Abdur Razzak, Maulvi.
Abdus Shaheed, Maulvi Md.
Abul Hashim, Maulvi.
Abul Hosain Ahmed, Mr.

Abul Quasem, Maulvi.
Aftab Ali, Mr.
Ahmed Ali Enayetpuri, Khan Bahadur Maulana.
Ahmed Ali Mridha, Maulvi.
Ahmed Hussain, Mr.
Ambuliah, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Ashad Hussain Khan, Maulvi.
Barat Ali, Mr. Md.
Basu, Mr. Jatindra Nath.
Bell-Hart, Miss P. E.
Blomenstock, Mr. L. M.
Das, Mr. Anukul Chandra.
Das, Rai Sahib Kirit Bhusan.
Edhar, Mr. Upendranath.
Fazlul Huq, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K.
Fazlul Quadir, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Fazlul Rahman, Mr. (Dacca).
Fazlur Rahman, Mr. (Mymensingh).
Golam Sarwar Hossini, Mr. Shah Syed.
Gomes, Mr. S. A.
Griffiths, Mr. C.
Gyasuddin Ahmed Choudhury, Alhadj.
Habibullah, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur K., of Dacca.
Hafizuddin Choudhuri, Maulvi.
Hatanuzzaman, Maulvi Md.
Hashem Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Hatemally Jamadar, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Hawkings, Mr. R. J.
Idris Ahmed Mia, Maulvi.
Ispahani, Mr. M. A. H.
Jalaluddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Kabiruddin Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Kazem Ali Mirza, Sahibzada Kawan Jah Syed.
Kennedy, Mr. I. G.
Mafizuddin Ahmed, Dr.
Mafizuddin Ahmed, Maulvi.
Mafizuddin Choudhury, Maulvi.
Maguire, Mr. L. T.
Mahtab, Maharajkumar Uday Chand.
Mahtabuddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Mandal, Mr. Banku Behari.
Mandal, Mr. Jagat Chandra.
Maniruddin Akhand, Maulvi.
Marindin, Mr. F. J.
McGregor, Mr. G. G.
Mohsin Ali, Mr. Md.
Morgan, Mr. G., C.I.E.
Mozammel Huq, Maulvi Md.
Muhammad Afzal, Khan Sahib Maulvi Syed.
Muhammad Ibrahim, Maulvi.
Muhammad Ishaque, Maulvi.
Muhammad Israil, Maulvi.
Muhammad Siddique, Khan Bahadur Dr. Syed.
Muhammad Sulaiman, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Mullick, Mr. Pulin Behary.
Mucharruff Hossain, the Hon'ble Nawab, Khan Bahadur.
Mustaqawsal Haque, Mr. Syed.
Nandy, the Hon'ble Maharaja Srischandra, of Cossimbazar.
Nasaruliah, Nawabzada K.
Nazimuddin, the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir, K.C.I.E.
Paul, Sir Hari Sankar.
Rahman, Khan Bahadur A. M. L.
Raikut, the Hon'ble Mr. Prasanna Deb.
Ray Choudhury, Mr. Birendra Kishore.
Razaur Rahman Khan, Mr.
Roy, the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh.
Roy, Mr. Dhananjoy.
Roy, Rai Bahadur Kshirod Chandra.
Roy, Mr. Pattiram.
Roy, Kumar Shib Shekhareswar.
Sadaruddin Ahmed, Mr.
Safiruddin Ahmed, Haji.
Salim, Mr. S. A.
Sarkar, Babu Madhusudan.
Sassoon, Mr. R. M.
Sen, Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra.
Sirajul Islam, Mr.
Shahabuddin, Mr. Khawaja, C.B.E.
Shamsuddin Ahmed Khondkar, Mr.
Shamsul Huda, Maulana.
Sirdar, Babu Litta Munda.
Smith, Mr. H. Brahant.
Steven, Mr. J. W. R.
Tamizuddin Khan, the Hon'ble Mr.
Tofel Ahmed Choudhury, Maulvi Haji.
Whitehead, Mr. R. B.
Yusuf Ali Choudhury, Mr.
Zahur Ahmed Choudhury, Maulvi.

Ayes being 63 and Noes 108, the motions were lost.

The motion that clause 5, as amended, stands part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, I beg to move that clause 6 of the Bill be omitted.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS : On a point of order, Sir, আমাদের এদিক থেকে অনেকেই আমরা motion দিয়েছি যে clause 6 omit করা হোক এবং আমাদের motion সকলের আগে আছে, অর্থাৎ আমাদের motion আগে, এবং গভর্ণমেন্টের motion পরে

গভর্ণমেন্ট আমাদের মোশন্ accept কোরে নিয়েছেন—(A MEMBER FROM THE COALITION PARTY : খালি আপনাদেরই নয় আমাদেরও motion আছে।) কাজেই clause 6 omit করার motion এদিক থেকে আগে হবে।

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: Sir, I have given previous notice of it.

Mr. SPEAKER: The motions standing in the name of the Hon'ble Minister and Nos. 105-117 are identical and the Hon'ble Minister has already moved his own. However, I shall put the motion both in the name of the Hon'ble Minister and Mr. Nikunja Behari Maiti.

The motion of Mr. Nikunja Behari Maiti and the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy that clause 6 of the Bill be omitted was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

The motion that clause 7 stands part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The motion that the Preamble stands part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Tenancy (Third Amendment) Bill, 1939, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to

The Bengal Public Demands Recovery (Amendment) Bill, 1939.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, I beg to proceed to introduce a Bill further to amend the Bengal Public Demands Recovery Act, 1913.

(The Secretary read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Public Demands Recovery (Amendment) Bill, 1939, be taken into consideration.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clauses 1 and 2.

The motion that clauses 1 and 2 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The motion that the Preamble stands part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Public Demands Recovery (Amendment) Bill, 1939, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

It being 6-28 p.m.—

The House was adjourned till 4-45 p.m. on Wednesday, the 13th December, 1939, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 13th December, 1939, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 223 members.

UNSTARRED QUESTION

(answer to which was laid on the table)

(Unstarred Question No. 22 which was left out yesterday owing to the absence of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister was taken up but there was no supplementary question.)

Realisation of tuition fees in Government high schools.

22. Maulvi AZHAR ALI: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department aware—

(*i*) that students of Government high schools are required to pay tuition fees for two months at a time, before long vacations which commence before the usual fee-collection day and re-opens after the fee-collection day of next month;

(*ii*) that in case of such vacations students are not allowed to pay tuition fee for one month before the closing of the school and that of the other month on the re-opening day; and

(*iii*) that students failing to pay tuition fees for two months at a time before the school closes are compelled to pay fines, even though the school is closed before the usual fee-collection day?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he proposes to take in the matter?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq): (*a*) (*i*) Yes; but such payment is not compulsory.

(*ii*) No. Students are allowed to pay tuition fees for one month before the closing of the school, and fees for the other month on the re-opening day without tardy payment fine.

(*iii*) Fines are not imposed.

(*b*) Does not arise.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Petition from Dr. S. K. Ganguly of Chittaranjan Avenue, complaining against highhandedness of the police.

*72. **Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether Government have received a petition from Dr. S. K. Ganguly of Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta, drawing attention to the manner in which he was dealt with by the Calcutta Police?

(*b*) If so, when?

(*c*) Is it a fact that serious neglect of duty and disregard for the civil liberty and protection of law-abiding citizens on the part of certain high officials of the Calcutta Police are alleged in that petition?

(*d*) What action, if any, have the Government taken or propose to take on the petition?

(*e*) Are the Government considering the desirability of having the allegations examined by an impartial tribunal or a judicial body?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) and (*b*) Yes, in August last.

(*c*) and (*d*) These allegations were made. I have looked into the case fully myself and am satisfied that the allegations are unfounded.

(*e*) No.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if in course of his personal investigation of the case, the complainant was given any opportunity to prove his allegations?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I granted an interview to Dr. Ganguli and he spoke to me for about half an hour over this question. And after that I saw the Deputy Commissioner concerned and I came to this conclusion. Since then Dr. Ganguli has sent further facts, or rather another statement, to me but I have not had time to look into it.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if in the course of his interview with Dr. Ganguli, Dr. Ganguli was asked any definite questions relating to the allegations or generally talked on other matters?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: He talked about nothing but his own case and he gave me a long statement which he further supplemented by his own version of the case and I asked him various questions about it as well.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if in the course of his allegations there was an allegation that there was trespass in the house of Dr. Ganguli on one night and that the Police did not take any action on that trespass case and if he is satisfied that the Police did act justly in not taking any action on that?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, the allegations and statements are of such a lengthy character that it is very difficult to give detailed answers on them, but I can assure the honourable member that as far as the question of trespass and other things are concerned, they were gone into thoroughly and I found that there was no case for taking any action against the officers concerned.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Commissioner of Police rebuked this Inspector for not having sent up the trespass case for trial?—and it is in the file.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: As a matter of fact, the Commissioner of Police was not satisfied with the way in which investigations were made.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any action has been taken thereafter to follow up the trespass case and to bring the offenders to book?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, it was too late after that to take up the question of trespass.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that because Dr. Ganguli complained against the Deputy Commissioner, South District, against the manner in which this trespass case was being hushed up, he was himself falsely implicated in a case in the Alipur Court by the Police?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: It is again going into details. I do not think it is possible to go into details here. There is a long history behind it and the reason why the case was brought against him was that definite allegations were made which were found to be not correct on the report of the Medical Officer and also on certain other facts, and the man who complained made two statements.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Who made the allegations?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: The servant.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the servant did never make any allegation and never made an *ejahar*?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Well, I am speaking from memory. I have dealt with this case for some time but as far as I remember, Dr. Ganguli took the servant to the thana and there made the complaint and again later on that man withdrew the allegations and made different statements absolutely contradicting what he had said when he was with Dr. Ganguli.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Magistrate before whom the case of Dr. Ganguli was placed demanded the *ejahar* of this man to be produced before the court and after repeated reminders the Police failed to produce the *ejahar* and thereafter the case had to be dropped

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I know definitely that this was not the ground why the case was dropped. The case was dropped because the man on whose evidence action was taken by the Police was found to be unreliable and without whose evidence it was not possible to go on with the case.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a definite fact that the man never gave any *ejahar* before the Police and the Police concocted the case purely to harass Dr. Ganguli?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I cannot believe this to be correct.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is prepared to investigate into the case giving ample opportunities to the parties concerned to prove that all these allegations are correct and will he be prepared to depute one of his Secretaries, either the Chief Secretary or any Deputy Secretary, to go into the allegations again in the light of the serious charges involved?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I am not prepared to make that statement now, but if the honourable member will see me afterwards and can satisfy me that there is any justification for further enquiry, I shall certainly agree.

Electoral roll for the Muhammadan constituency, Bengal Legislative Council, Chittagong district.

*73. **Khan Bahadur MD. ANWARUL AZIM:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether there has been an increase of 80 per cent. in the electoral roll for the Muhammadan constituency, Bengal Legislative Council, Chittagong district, on its original list of 1936?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is that due to?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) and (*b*) The electoral roll is still under preparation and consequently no answer can be given to the question at this stage?

High and Middle English schools in Jalpaiguri district.

*74. **Mr. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing—

(i) the number of (1) high English schools and (2) middle English schools, existing at present in the district of Jalpaiguri;

(*ii*) the number of them that get Government recurring grant-in-aid; and

(*iii*) the amount of grant-in-aid which each of them gets?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware—

(*i*) that the following thanas have got only one middle English school within their respective boundaries; and

(*ii*) that these schools are receiving no Government recurring grant-in-aid:—

(1) Titelia police-station,

(2) Falakata police-station and Madarihat police-station,

(3) Kumargram police-station and Kalchini police-station, and

(4) Dhupguri police station?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the number of—

(*i*) Scheduled Caste boys; and

(*ii*) Muslim boys

receiving Government monthly scholarships, general or special, for higher education in colleges; and

(*iii*) the number of applicants for such scholarships from each community separately?

(*d*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware—

(*i*) that Jalpaiguri is one of the most backward districts in Bengal in education;

(*ii*) that excepting a negligible small percentage the indigenous population of the district are poor agriculturists; and

(*iii*) that about three-fourths of the Hindu population are of Scheduled Castes?

(*e*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of spending more money for middle English, high English and higher education of the idigenous population of the district?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I have called for the information but it will take some time to obtain all the details. The information will be supplied so soon as collected.

SHORT-NOTICE STARRED QUESTION

Arrest of the Secretary, Bengal Congress Socialist Party.

*74A. **Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Mr. Nripendra Kumar Chakrabarty, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Branch of the Congress Socialist Party, was arrested by the Special Branch of the Calcutta Police on the 27th November, 1939, on a street under the jurisdiction of the Shyampukur police-station?

(*b*) Is it a fact that on his production before Mr. Wali-ul Islam, the Officiating Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, on the 5th December, 1939, Nripendra Kumar Chakrabarty complained to the said Magistrate that he was being tortured in the Special Branch office by the officers of that branch specially by Messrs. Girija Roy and Jnan Dutt?

(*c*) Is it a fact that when Mr. Nripendra Kumar Chakrabarty complained to the said Magistrate that his body was full of bruises and there was wound in one of his ears?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether the Magistrate recorded the complaint, and

(*ii*) whether he ordered Mr. Chakrabarty to be sent to the Police Surgeon or to any other medical authority for examination and report?

(*e*) If the answers to (*c*) and (*d*) are in the affirmative, do the Government contemplate making an inquiry into the matter?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) He complained that he had been assulted in police custody and not allowed to sleep for 3 days and 3 nights

(*c*) No. He had something wrong with his ear which had been attended to in police custody.

(*d*) (*i*) The Magistrate recorded as above in (*b*).

(*ii*) No.

(*e*) No.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether one of the allegations was that he was subjected to stand in hand-cuffs for three consecutive nights.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I am positive that no such allegation was made before the court of the Magistrate.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is his information on which he makes such a categorical statement?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Because the Magistrate recorded what he had heard—the complaints made by the prisoner.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he examined the Magistrate before making such a statement?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how he can assure the House that whatever was stated by Mr. Chakraverty was recorded by the Magistrate?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Does the honourable member mean to suggest that the Magistrate deliberately did not record what the complainant had said in the court?

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Very often they do so

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: That is a suggestion which is unworthy of a member to make.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that one of the allegations made by the prisoner was that every part of his statement was not recorded by the Magistrate?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I have not heard it said anywhere.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: With reference to answer (c), later part, that Mr. Nripendra Kumar Chakrabarty had something wrong with his ear which had been attended to in police custody, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any medical man attended to his ear in police custody?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Yes.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he has got any report from that medical man and what is the name of that Medical Officer?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I am afraid I cannot give you the name at the present time, but certainly the thing was attended to by a Medical Officer and there is a report about it.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is not a fact that the prisoner made certain statements with regard to the trouble in his ear and the Magistrate failed to record it?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I haven't got the Magistrate's statement just now. So I cannot give a definite answer to that.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enquire whether it is not a fact that the trouble in the prisoners's ear arose out of the ill-treatment and assault that he received inside the police custody?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: No, Sir, that is not correct.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: In view of the fact that this question has come up on the floor of the House, does the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of instituting an enquiry other than a departmental one?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I do not think there is any justification for it. Actually the prisoner was produced in Court on the day after the arrest and he was produced in Court a day before the date fixed for his appearance. He was supposed to appear on the 6th, he appeared actually on the 5th. He was interviewed by the Deputy Commissioner either on the 2nd or 3rd, and he made no complaint whatsoever. He was seen twice by the Assistant Commissioner, and he made no complaint whatsoever. He made no complaint of any other injury excepting that of the trouble in the ear to the doctor who attended to his ear. Therefore, I find there is no justification whatsoever for holding any further enquiry.

Mr. K. NOORUDDIN: Will the Home Minister kindly state if there is any chance of stopping this Nazi method of dealing with political prisoners?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: It is purely in the figment of imagination of the honourable member that Nazi methods are being adopted here.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government is prepared, in view of the allegations made, to have this particular prisoner Mr. Nripendra Kumar Chakrabarty medically examined by a doctor outside the Jail Department?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: After the appearance before the Magistrate, he was sent into jail custody, and if he had had serious trobule he could have gone to the jail hospital and have it attended to. He made no complaint whatsoever to the jail authorities on admission, and he has not required any treatment whatsoever.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Sir, I am afraid my question has not been answered. May I put my question again? Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in view of the serious allegations made, Government will be prepared to have this prisoner examined by a public practitioner of Calcutta?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I am certainly not prepared to do it. If there was any justification or any ground for assuming that there was any truth in this allegation, I would be the first person to accept the suggestion of the honourable member, but from all the facts that are at my disposal, I find that there is nothing to support the allegation that has been made. Therefore, I regret I cannot accept the suggestion.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the advisability of enquiring into this matter himself and if necessary interviewing this prisoner in view of the very special circumstances of this case?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: As a matter of fact I have personally enquired from the Deputy Commissioner himself, and if necessary I will try and see if it is possible to see the prisoner himself.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

Veterinary Department.

***74B. Rai Bahadur JOGESH CHANDRA SEN:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture (Veterinary) Department be pleased to state what are the considerations other than seniority and merit that are observed to determine the promotion and officiating arrangements in the Veterinary Department?

(*b*) Is it a fact that the appointments of the following officers of the department have been made in supersession of the claims of some Hindu officers:—

(*i*) officiating Director, Civil Veterinary Department;

(*ii*) officiating Vice-Principal, Bengal Veterinary College;

(*iii*) officiating Assistant Director, Civil Veterinary Department, Eastern Range;

(*iv*) officiating Assistant Director, Civil Veterinary Department, Northern Range; and

(*v*) Veterinary Inspectors?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the recommendation of the Public Service Commission was accepted in these matters?

MINISTER in charge of the PUBLIC HEALTH, MEDICAL, AGRICULTURE and VETERINARY DEPARTMENTS (the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan): (*a*) Permanent promotions are made strictly on considerations of merit and efficiency. Officiating arrangements are generally made in such a way as to cause the least dislocation of work having regard to seniority and efficiency as far as possible.

(*b*) No senior officer was superseded in the case of the appointment of the Officiating Director. There has been supersession of one Hindu officer with teaching experience in the case of officiating appointment of the Vice-Principal of the Bengal Veterinary College, and of some Hindu as well as Muslim officers in the appointment of the officiating Assistant Directors, Northern and Eastern Ranges, but these are purely temporary arrangements made according to the principle stated in (*a*) above. There has also been some supersession of both Hindu and Muslim officers in the case of appointment of Veterinary Inspectors which has been made by promotion of the most efficient Veterinary Assistant Surgeons having regard to seniority as far as possible.

(c) It is not necessary to consult the Public Service Commission in the case of officiating appointments and also appointment of Veterinary Inspectors which is made by the Veterinary Adviser and not by Government.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (a) stating that permanent promotions are made strictly on considerations of merit and efficiency, may I enquire if seniority is no criterion for such selections?

The Hon'ble Mr. TMIZUDDIN KHAN: Yes, Sir, seniority is also taken into consideration.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with reference to answer (b) that no senior officer was superseded in the case of the appointment of the officiating Director, may I enquire if the present officiating Director is senior to the two officers, Captain J. M. Lahiri and Mr. Surendra Nath Sinha, who are shown in the Civil List as both having longer period of service as well as previous appointment in the department—one having been appointed on 1st October, 1910, and the other 12th December, 1936—whereas the temporary Director was probationary on the 25th of July, 1938. The salaries drawn by these two senior officers were Rs. 450 in respect of Mr. Surendra Nath Sinha and Rs. 350 in respect of Captain J. M. Lahiri, while Mr. Ali was drawing less than Rs. 400?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, as regards Captain Lahiri my friend says that he was drawing Rs. 350, but on the special recommendation of the Public Service Commission, Mr. Ali was given an initial pay of Rs. 400.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Did that make him senior in service?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: The thing is, Sir, that both these officers were appointed by the Bengal Government from outside. They were in the service of some other Provincial Governments before they came to Bengal. Therefore, if their total length of service is taken into consideration, I do not think that my hon'ble friend is correct.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that even taking the total length of service

of the two respective officers in the Bihar and Central Provinces services, Captain Lahiri's services would be at least two years more than Mr. Ali's?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I cannot say anything definitely, but I think my friend is not correct.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: But what about Mr. Sinha who was in the Provincial Service here from as early a period as October, 1910? That is in the Civil List.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, so far as that question is concerned, I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with reference to Nos. (*i*), (*ii*), (*iii*) and (*iv*) of answer (*b*), if all these officers placed in the officiating list have been Muslim officers?

Mr. SPEAKER: The Hon'ble Minister has given his answer as both Hindus and Muslims.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: That is about officers who have been superseded. I am talking about officers who superseded.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I think my friend is correct, Sir.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that under list (*v*), that is Veterinary Inspectors, the supersession has been also in favour of all Muslim officers.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I want notice, Sir.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Veterinary Adviser who is stated in answer (*c*) as the appointing authority for Inspectors, tried to please the Minister concerned in making these superseding appointments?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Combating evils of dowry in marriages.

25. Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: (*a*) Has the attention of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department been drawn to the Bills taken up in sister Provinces with a view to combating the evils of *dowry* in marriages?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware—

(*i*) that there is a general desire in Bengal that the evils of *dowry* system should be remedied by legislation; and

(*ii*) that a private member's Bill relating to *dowry* is pending in the Bengal Legislative Council?

(*c*) Have the Government in contemplation any measure for dealing with the problem?

(*d*) If so, what?

MINISTER in charge of the JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur): (*a*) Yes; in Bihar, Orissa and Bombay.

(*b*) (*i*) Government are not aware.

(*ii*) Yes.

(*c*) No.

(*d*) Does not arise.

Mr. SANSANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons for Government not taking any measure on the lines of Bihar, Orissa and Bombay?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: Government have no information that there is any widespread desire for a legislation of this kind. A legislation of this kind has been introduced in the Upper House. It has been sent for circulation for eliciting opinion of the country. If the opinion be in favour of such a legislation, Government may do something.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that many Hindu families have been financially ruined owing to the evils of this dowry system?

Mr. SPEAKER: Is that a matter for special cognizance of the Judicial Department? (Laughter.)

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that this evil of dowry system is also being extended to the Muslim community?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: Gradually.

New Customs Offices in Calcutta.

25A. Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the names of the tenderers and the respective amounts tendered for the construction of the New Customs Offices in Calcutta for which tenders were invited in June last,

(*b*) the name of the firm that has been awarded the contract and the conditions and terms for the same,

(*c*) the respective reasons for the rejection of each of the lower tenders, if any,

(*d*) whether the rules laid down by the Government of Bengal regarding acceptance of tenders have been fully complied with,

(*e*) whether the attention of the Hon'ble Minister was drawn to the fact that the specifications for the building were so determined as to render it difficult for many Bengalee contractors from offering their tenders,

(*f*) whether any steps were taken to examine how far the specifications were justified on technical grounds, and

(*g*) whether Government is considering the desirability of giving preference to Bengalee contractors in the award of contracts of the Communications and Works Department with a view to provide increased employment to purely Bengalee talent, capital, and skilled labour?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMUNICATIONS and WORKS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Maharaja Srischandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar):

		Rs.
(*a*) (1) Messrs. Mackintosh Burn & Co., Ltd.	..	12,00,785
(2) Messrs. the Hindusthan Engineering Co.	...	10,86,769
(3) Messrs. K. C. Ghosh & Co.	...	10,30,870
(4) Messrs. Martin & Co.	...	10,95,137
(5) Messrs. the Nadia Engineering Co.	...	10,22,659

(*b*) and (*c*) The tender accepted was that of Messrs. Martin & Co. because it was thought that they would execute the work better and more quickly than of the firms submitting lower tenders, to an extent which justified the higher cost. I will endeavour to have a copy of the contract placed on the Library table at an early date.

(*d*) Yes.

(*e*) Such an allegation was made, but as the answer to part (*a*) shows, tenders were received from a number of Bengalee firms.

(*f*) The specifications were approved by the Government of India, for whom the work is being done.

(*g*) I do not think that any such preference is necessary, because the work done by Non-Bengalee contractors is small compared with the total.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be be pleased to state the difference in the amount of the tender accepted and the lowest tender in respect of this Customs House building?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I would only request the honourable member to subtract from the figures supplied.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to find out in the list if the Martin & Co. has been placed fourth in the order although it comes second in the order from the top side, and will he be pleased to state what was the measure of assessing the comparative quickness of the execution of the work when in the tender itself the period was also mentioned?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I think it was Messrs. Martin & Co. that quoted the shortest period, i.e., the lowest number of months to complete the work.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that Messrs. Martin & Co. quoted certain number of months on certain conditions. What are those conditions?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: In any way, I think they quoted the lowest number of months.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: What are those conditions?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: It is difficult for me to give them off-hand.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any arrangement has been made for terminating the contract if the contract is not executed within the stated period of 22 months?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: It is usual to see that the terms mentioned in the contract are adhered to and in this particular case, as I have already stated, the Government of India will be consulted if occasion arises to terminate the contract.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the Government of India did lay down any condition precedent for previous consultation with them in the approval of this contract?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: They were informed about all the facts of this case before tenders were accepted.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: My question was whether the Government of India laid down any previous condition about the acceptance of this tender, and whether they wanted to be consulted beforehand when they placed the work with the Provincial Government. There can be one answer—Yes, or No.

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: There cannot be any question of the Government of India giving any direction; when the tenders were received, they were informed of the entire position, and it was according to their direction that the tender was accepted.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the entire list of tenderers with the respective names of the different tenderers and the amounts quoted by each at a time was not sent to the Government of India at any stage?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I do not think the honourable member is quite correct.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he has personally satisfied himself that this was actually referred to?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Yes.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Government of India was only referred to by the Chief Engineer by telegram and the telegram was sent without his knowledge?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: No, Sir.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: No, what?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: That is not a fact.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that before the tender was accepted, rumour relating to the acceptance of Martin & Co.'s tender was brought to his notice?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that in drawing up specifications, certain items were introduced which could only be provided by certain European firms and by none else?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I will refer the honourable member to my reply to (*b*) and (*c*).

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: In that connection will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that those Bengali firms had to depend upon Jessop & Co. to enable them to give their tenders?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: My honourable friend knows that very well that it is not a fact.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any Bengalee contractor could quote his tender without the help of any European Engineering firms?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Well, Sir, I again will refer the honourable member to my reply to (*f*). The specifications were approved by the Government of India and we had no hand in them. The fact that several Bengalee firms tendered shows that my friend's statement is not quite correct.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that when the Bengalee firms tendered their quotations and the amounts quoted by them were as less as Rs. 656 than the tender accepted, the matter was referred to him before the final approval of the contract?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Certainly.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he accepted the tender or the Chief Engineer did it without his knowledge?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think you are assuming something.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he had knowledge of the acceptance of the tender after the party was actually informed or before the party was informed?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: It was certainly before as it was done with my knowledge and consent.

Mr. SPEAKER: You have first to put it as to whether any of the contractors was informed before the acceptance of the tender.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any of the tenderers was informed about the acceptance of the tender before the file was put up to him?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: That cannot be so.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Chief Engineer over his head communicated the matter to the Government of India in order to get his own men appointed without his knowledge?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government is considering the desirability of confining tenders to Bengalee contractors particularly when their rates are lower and they do the work efficiently?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I will refer the honourable member to my reply to (*g*).

Appointments made by Chief Inspector of Jute Registration in Dinajpur.

25B. ....JHITHA NATH KUNDU: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture and Industries Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Chief Inspector of Jute Registration in Dinajpur was empowered to appoint clerks, area copyists, primary recorders, peons and orderlies for Dinajpur?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether all the appointments mentioned in (*a*) have been made by the Chief Inspector?

(*c*) If all the appointments have not been made by him, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state by whom they were made and for what reason?

(*d*) What was the total number of appointments made in Dinajpur?

(*e*) Is it a fact that claims of local candidates have been ignored; if so, what are the reasons?

(*f*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware—

(*i*) that applications were received by the Chief Inspector even after the expiry of last date;

(*ii*) that appointments were made from those who had submitted their applications late in preference to other candidates;

(*iii*) that in some cases 3 or 4 candidates from the same family have been appointed; and

(*iv*) that men from Barisal have been appointed as orderlies ignoring the claims of several local Muhammadan candidates?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) All the appointments were made by the Director of Land Records, Bengal, though the preliminary selection was made by the Chief Controller of Jute Regulation. The Chief Inspector of Dinajpur was merely asked to send up names of suitable local men to the Chief Controller. The Inspector of Thakurgaon was asked by the Chief Inspector to submit names of suitable local candidates to him for transmission to the Chief Controller.

(*d*) 245.

(*e*) No.

(*f*) (*i*) No applications were called for after the last date fixed for the submission of applications but in view of the casual vacancies that are frequently occurring on account of men selected not turning up or deserting after appointment, new applications are being entertained even now.

(*f*) (*ii*) No. All pending applications are considered whenever there is any vacancy.

(*f*) (*iii*) I have no information of any such case.

(*f*) (*iv*) In view of the conditions under which officers appointed under this scheme have to work they were allowed to appoint their own orderlies. They have obviously appointed men whom they knew and on whom they could rely. The general rule of appointing local men as far as possible has not therefore been meticulously observed in the appointment of orderlies.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Before putting the supplementary question I am reading from a letter of the Chief Inspector who has admitted that he allowed submission of an application after the prescribed time and handing over this letter to you, and then asking this question whether it was desirable for the Chief Inspector to do so. The letter reads as follows: As regards the appointment of a man who did not submit his application in time, I write to say——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. You cannot make a statement. What is your question?

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: My question was that appointments were made from those who had submitted their applications late in preferance to other candidates. The answer has been "No". After that I wrote to the Chief Inspector who has admitted——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. That question does not arise. That matter is perfectly known to you.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: My question is whether he was authorised to receive applications after the expiry of the date fixed for receiving applications?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I think, Sir, if as a result of the first advertisement the requisite number of candidates was not available then fresh applications might be accepted.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Is it a fact that just after the date, namely, the 22nd October on the 1st November the Chief Inspector received an application after the date of expiry without waiting for those candidates who were appointed to join their posts?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I have no information on the point.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that advertisements were issued to the press by Government saying that these appointments in districts will be made by the Chief Inspector and not by the Director of Land Records as he has answered in reply to my questions (a), (b) and (c)?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I do not remember the terms of the advertisement just now but selections were made by the Chief Inspector and final appointments were made by the Director of Land Records.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to answer (*d*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many of these 245 candidates finally appointed were nominated by the Chief Inspector of Dinajpur?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I want notice.

Fall in price of paddy due to import of rice from Burma.

250. **Babu NAGENDRA NATH SEN:** (*a*) Has the attention of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agricultural Department been drawn to the low price of paddy which is even lower than the cost of cultivation thereof due to heavy import of rice from Burma?

(*b*) If so, what action does he propose to take in the matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*) and (*b*) The member is referred to the answer given on the 5th December, 1939, to starred question No. 38 asked by Mr. P. Banerji.

Mr. P. BANNERJI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he has made any further progress so far since his reply to Starred Question No. 38?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIUZDDIN KHAN: Sir, some progress has been made, but it will take some time before the examination can be finished.

Hospitals and charitable dispensaries in Jalpaiguri.

25D. Mr. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing separately—

(*i*) total number of hospitals and charitable dispensaries in the district of Jalpaiguri under the management of—

(*a*) Local committees,

(*b*) District Board,

(*c*) Khasmahal Department,

(*d*) Union Boards, and

(*e*) Private persons;

(*ii*) the number of them that get Government recurring grant-in-aid separately; and

(*iii*) the amount of grant-in-aid which each of them gets?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*i*), (*ii*), and (*iii*) A Statement is laid down on the table.

Statement referred to in the reply to Unstarred Question No. 25D regarding the number of hospitals and dispensaries under certain classes in the district of Jalpaiguri and grants-in-aid received by each.

(*i*) Under the management of—

(*a*) Local Committees—Seven.

(*b*) District Board—Six.

(*c*) Khasmahal Department—Two.

(*d*) Union Boards—Eleven.

(*e*) Private persons—Two.

(*ii*) of (*a*) five, of (*b*) one and of (*d*) two dispensaries.

				Per annum.
(*iii*)	(*a*)	(*a*)	Kamargram Dispensary ...	500
		(*b*)	Falakata Dispensary ...	300
		(*c*)	Alipur duar Dispensary ...	300
		(*d*)	Maynaguri Dispensary ...	250
		(*e*)	Chengmari Dispensary ...	260
	(*b*)		Samuktola Village Dispensary ..	250
			Rangdhamali Graham Union Board Dispensary ..	250
			Shikarpur-Saldanga Union Board Dispensary	250

Mr. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is considering the desirability of granting annual aid to the dispensaries under the management of Union Boards which are not receiving them?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Yes, Sir. Those dispensaries that are eligible for grants will be given aid.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before adjourning I may inform the House that the War Resolution will be taken up just at 5-40 p.m. after the prayer interval.

(The House was then adjourned for 15 minutes.)

Report of the Jute Enquiry Committee and amendments to Jute Regulation Bill.

Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: On a point of information, Sir. It is reported in the papers that the report of the Jute Enquiry Committee has been submitted to the Government and the review on that report also has been published in some of the daily papers. In view of the fact that we have to submit our amendments on or before the 15th of this month and the jute regulation will begin, I would submit that the report be circulated to us immediately to enable us to frame our amendments properly.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin is not just now in the Chamber and I shall ascertain the information as soon as he comes to the Chamber.

GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION.

Resolution on War.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: May I take up a little of your time now, Sir, and draw attention in the meantime to some irregularities as regards the War Resolution for which notice has been given and for which irregularities I feel that there may be some genuint ground to disallow the resolution under the Rules of our Assembly. The Rules of the Assembly, Nos. 87 and 88 relate to resolutions which apply as much to non-official resolutions as to Government resolutions. Rule 87 states: "Every resolution shall be in the form of a declaration of opinion by the Assembly." Rule 88 places certain restrictions on the form and contents of resolutions. I have to draw your attention to the decision that you gave, Sir, with regard to non-official resolutions relating to war in which case you or your Department were pleased not to accept Congress resolutions in the form accepted by almost all the provincial Governments except the Punjab on the ground that they were not in the form of an expression of opinion, or there were other objections under Rule 88. But I find that the Government resolution which completely gives the go-by to all the requirements of these Rules, somehow or other, for some unknown reason, has found favour with your Department. Not only that, Sir, I find——

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, in putting forward your point, I would request you that in your language you kindly refrain from using any expression which may directly or indirectly be a reflection on the department. Will you formulate your views accordingly?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, my submission is that the first paragraph of the resolution which starts with saying "that this Assembly associates itself" is an expression of action, and is not an expression of opinion, and therefore the resolution in this form at least cannot be acceptable under rule 87 of the Rules of the Assembly. The second paragraph of the resolution also "authorizes"—that is to say, is a request for action, and is not an expression of opinion. Therefore that also is not admissible under our Rules. The third paragraph also "authorises", which means that it is a request for action. In either of the three cases unless the form of the resolution is suitably altered to make it in conformity with the Rules of the Assembly, the resolution in the present form, I submit, cannot be accepted.

I further beg to submit that the words "in consonance with the aims of the present war" are words which also appeared in my resolution which I sent after I received a letter from the office informing me that my former form was not acceptable. But these words were deleted from the accepted form which appears in the appendix to the List of Business for non-official resolutions. You deleted those very words "in consonance with the avowed aims of the war," and yet I find that in the Government resolution those very words have been accepted. I would submit that if these words were found objectionable in the non-official resolutions they could be equally found objectionable in an official resolution I further submit that the resolution has raised a multiplicity of issues Under rule 88(*a*), a resolution shall be clearly and precisely expressed and shall raise some definite issue. There is no definiteness by the present resolution, and some of the issues are so vague and far-fetched that I submit that it contravenes the Rules of Business of the Assembly. On these grounds I submit that the resolution in its present form should be declared out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not necessary for me to hear anything more on the subject, because I do not want to waste the time of the House. For the time being, this aspect of the question has been brought to my notice by Dr. Sanyal and I will take a little time to come to a decision. This resolution will be discussed to-day and to-morrow and in case there is anything which I find is not in consonance with the Rules of Business and not in accordance with the practice followed in this House then it will be put in proper form to-morrow. For the time being I would ask the Hon'ble Mr Fazlul Huq to move his resolution.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I beg to move that this Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by totalitarian Governments in Europe and declares its complete sympathy with the British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in the defence of democracy and of the right of self-determination of the smaller and weaker nations which are now at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive dictator ridden states and cannot, unaided, maintain their territorial integrity.

This Assembly, therefore, authorises Government to assure the Government of India full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the war.

This Assembly further authorises the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government that in consonance with the aims of the

present war, as declared by that Government, and understood by India and consistent with the accepted ideal of the British Empire as a Commonwealth of free nations, the attainment by India of the status of a Dominion as defined in the Statute of Westminster which is the declared policy of the British Government, should be implemented immediately on the termination of the war and the New Constitution formulated should provide sufficient and effective safeguards for the recognised minorities and interests and should be based upon their full consent and approval.

It has been my lot to move various resolutions in this House, present and past and also to take part in the discussions of resolutions, but I cannot recall a single occasion when I was called upon to speak on a motion raising more momentous issues than the one that I am now presenting before the House. I know that a resolution of this kind must necessarily encounter rough weather, but I am considerably relieved to find that the amendments that have been tabled have been couched in a language which is more of less of a conciliatory character and I propose to return the compliment by making my remarks as less offensive as possible to those who hold views different from mine. Sir, the resolution is of such importance that I hope it will be discussed in an atmosphere free from passion and prejudice and that the result of our discussions will be a decision which will be honourable to ourselves and conducive to the good of the province where we live and to the people of the province.

The resolution is one that readily divides itself into three parts. The first part presents no difficulties. We are more or less agreed that the methods adopted by Hitler and his associates deserve the condemnation of the whole civilized world. Sir, so far as the position of Great Britain is concerned, we all know how the Prime Minister tried his utmost to avert a conflict We all know how strenuous, how unremitting, how persistent even when the last glimmer of hope seemed to have faded away, were the efforts of the British Prime Minister to secure for Europe a lasting and honourable peace. However, it is unfortunate that his efforts should have proved futile and that Great Britain should have been forced to join the conflict. I maintain, and I hope I can do so without fear of contradiction, that the ideals for which Great Britain is fighting are ideals which it will not be difficult for us to accept. Briefly stated, Great Britain is fighting to fulfil solemn international obligations, obligations which if they had been entered into between private persons in the ordinary concerns of life, would have been regarded as obligations not only of law but also of honour which no self-respecting man could possibly have repudiated. Great Britain is fighting to vindicate the principle which in these days of material force seems sometimes

to cease to be the dominant influence and factor in the affairs of mankind, the principle that small nationalities should not be crushed in defiance of international good faith by the arbitrary will of a strong and dominant power.

Sir, I repeat that Britain is fighting not for aggression, not even for the maintenance of selfish interest, but it is fighting in defence of those fundamental principles the maintenance of which is vital to the civilisation of the world.

If therefore, we really believe that Britain is on the right path, it is our duty to help her and assist her. We should help Britain to win the war. May I at this stage point out to this House that this part of my resolution is not merely a natural corollary of the first part and of the circumstances under which Great Britain was forced into this conflict, but that India in her own interest should see that the conflict ends in the successful triumph of Great Britain and her Allies. It does not require much imagination to conceive what will be the disaster to India if Great Britain is defeated I know many and various are our charges against the British Government, many and various are our complaints about the administration under the British regime, but after all, the British administration is a human organization, and it is not free from defects. But whatever the defects may be, one thing Great Britain can claim and that is that it has given to India the blessings of peace and ordered Government. I say this not to placate any particular section of the House, but I say it from a firm conviction, and I believe that every Indian who examines the question dispassionately will agree with me that however defective may be the system of British rule in India, it has got certain good points, which India cannot afford to forget. At any rate, if for any moment we conceive that British rule has ended in India, it is not difficult also to foresee that the end of the British rule will be anarchy and confusion of which it is difficult to foresee the end. As the old Irish women said when Ireland got its independence "Thank God, the British have at last left Ireland; we can now fight in peace", similarly if the British were to leave India to-day, we would certainly get an opportunity of fighting in peace, but I do not think that is an eventuality which we can wish for or which we can strive after I submit, therefore, that all things considered, it is our incumbent duty to co-operate with Great Britain in fighting this war.

This is the second part of my resolution and here, Sir, let me make one point absolutely clear. I am a member of the Muslim League. The Muslim League has not finally declared that the Muslims of India should offer their co-operation, nor has the Muslim League said anything to the contrary. The final decision of the Working Committee has been that the President of the League be authorised

to interview the Viceroy and have certain points cleared, and if as a result of that conference, the President is satisfied, the Muslim League will call upon the Muslims of India to come and offer their co-operation in the fullest measure. It may be asked, if that is the position, why do I at this moment move this resolution? I reply in two short sentences. In the first place, besides being a member of the Muslim League, I happen to be connected with a provincial administration, and it is time that the Government of Bengal should declare itself and declare its policy, and as a member of a provincial Government, which is a unit of the British Government. I cannot possibly take any other course but declare myself emphatically that in my opinion, we should co-operate and I also take the liberty of asking my colleagues in this House to take up that attitude towards the war. If, however, at any time it so happens that the President of the Muslim League were to declare for any reason that the Muslims of India ought not to co-operate with Great Britain, I can make the position absolutely clear, that when there is a conflict between my position in the Cabinet and my membership of the Muslim League, I shall allow the claim of the Muslim League to prevail. ("Hear, hear" from the Coalition Benches.) I would not be for a single moment in the Cabinet if I am asked by my community to come out. But at the present moment, so far as the Muslim League is concerned it has not decided against co-operation, and I am therefore free as a member of the Muslim League to declare the policy of the Government and still retain my loyalty to the Muslim League.

Now, Sir, I come to the third part of the resolution. I refer to the principal amendments that have been tabled, amendments in opposition to my motion. I refer to the amendment tabled by my friend the Leader of the Opposition. He wants this House to declare its opinion that the Government should convey to the Government of India and through them to the British Government that in consonance with the avowed aims of the present war, it is essential in order to secure the co-operation of the Indian people that the principles of democracy with adequate safeguards for the preservation of the rights and interests of the minorities, be immediately applied to India and her policy be guided by her people; and that India should be recognised as an independent nation entitled to frame her own constitution and further that suitable action should be taken in so far as is possible in the immediate present to give effect to that principle in regard to the present governance of India.

Sir, I should have read the paragraph before. It reads "This Assembly however regrets that the British Government have made India a participant in the war between Great Britain and Germany without the consent of the people of India and have further in complete

disregard of Indian opinion passed laws and adopted measures curtailing the powers and activities of the provincial Governments."

Now, Sir, I submit that it is not a question of India having been made a participant in the war betwen Great Britain and Germany. All that has been done is that immediately after the promulgation of the war or perhaps a few days before the war was actually declared, troops had been despatched from India to Aden and Singapore. In doing so, the Government of India had taken measures for the protection of India itself. It was in the interests of India that troops were sent to those strategic positions. And as regards the consultation of the people of India so far as these measures are concerned, I am sure my hon'ble friend will realize that military measures cannot be undertaken by means of a plebiscite taken in regard to 320 millions of human beings in India. The decision must be swift, and no one can for a moment contend that the decisions regarding military measures should be taken by means of consultation. Secondly there is a danger that even if selected persons are consulted, the military plans may be divulged. From all points of view, therefore, there was no alternative for the Government of India but to take this action, and I submit most respectfully to this House that in taking the action that the Government of India had taken, they have only acted in the defence of India and in the best interests of the Indian people

Now, Sir, so far as the second part of my friend's amendment is concerned, I have got a few observations to make. It is said that the Congress was not consulted; the political organisation of India which is really one of the most, if not the most prominent of the Indian organisations was not consulted before steps were taken. I do not mean any offence when I say that it was impossible for anybody to take any other steps. Take the case of the ordinances that have been promulgated. It was absolutely necessary that the Government of India should have taken powers to give directions to all the provincial Governments in order to meet the requirements of the situation In the first place, it is necessary that there should be a uniformity of policy. It is necessary that all the provinces should take action in accordance with one uniform method. It would not do for one province to take one step and leave the other provinces to take different steps. For the sake of maintaining uniformity, therefore, it was absolutely necessary that the command should emanate from the centre.

Secondly, and here again I submit without meaning any offence that at the time when the Ordinances were promulgated, eight of the provinces were under Congress administration. It was therefore necessary to take note of the realities of the situation.

Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: Because they were Congress provinces?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: If I have made any misstatement of facts, the honourable member will have occasion to correct me. In 8 provinces the Congress Ministries were in power and they openly refused to support the war. Supposing some direction had come from Simla or Delhi and a different direction from Wardha, in a case of conflict of direction, possibly Wardha would have prevailed. Government could never have accepted such directions from other sources. At the same time, Government could not make a discrimination between a Congress province and a non-Congress province, and again for the sake of uniformity they took in their own hands the power and the responsibility of issuing orders by means of ordinances. Therefore it was not with a view to curb the powers of the provincial Governments, but to avoid unpleasant eventualities, that those steps were taken. Here may I tell the House that although the ordinances are in force for some time, no occasion had arisen in which the Government of India had thought fit to force any provincial Government to take any action which that particular Government itself did not approve? However, this question at the present moment is somewhat out of date and irrelevant, because the Congress Ministries have resigned and in those provinces there is administration under section 93 of the Government of India Act. They certainly do not complain and we also do not complain. Therefore there is again uniformity and this uniformity at any rate ought to settle the disputes that exist at the present moment.

Now, Sir, I am coming to what I consider the most contentious part of this resolution, namely, the question of India's future and the constitution of India after the war. Before I make my submission I would ask the House to remember that it is essential in order to discuss a question of this kind to take note of the facts as they exist. There is a tendency amongst many people to try and ignore facts, to look at facts not as they are, but as in their opinion they should be. Facts must be faced however inconvenient and unpleasant. There is a story of the Arabian ostrich which when it wants to hide itself, plunges its head into the sands and imagines that because it cannot see the world, the world at large does not see it. There are people who ignore facts and who think that because they do not see facts even those that are glaring in the face, those facts really do not exist. Now, Sir, in talking on such a very important and solemn subject as the constitution of this great country, let us not be false to ourselves, let us see facts as they are, let us admit facts from which there is no escape, let us admit facts that stand in the way of India's

advance, not merely towards further political progress but really stand in the way of India's attaining the fullest measure of political liberty and freedom.

It will be said that it is a truism when I say that India is not a homogeneous country and is not peopled by homogeneous sections of the population. It is of such vital importance that even a small fact, an obvious fact like that has got to be repeated and emphasised in order that the difficulties can be realised and the solution may be worked out in the light of the difficulties. It is no use trying to treat a patient by ignoring the real conditions and arrive at a diagnosis not as it should be but a diagnosis which is congenial and which is acceptable to the views of the physicians. And now, what are the conditions in India? There is no escape from the fact that the various communities in India are divided in a manner which is almost unparalleled in any other country in the world.

As regards Hindus and the Muslims, the Simon Commission made certain observations which I am tempted to read out to this House. "It would be an utter misapprehension to suppose that Hindu-Muslim antagonism is analogous to the separation between religious denominations in contemporary Europe. Differences of race, a different system of law, and the absence of inter-marriage constitute a far more effective barrier. It is a basic opposition manifesting itself at every turn in social custom and economic competition, as well as in mutual religious antipathy. To-day, in spite of much neighbourly kindliness in ordinary affairs, and notwithstanding all the efforts made by men of god-will in both communities to promote Hindu-Muslim concord, the rivalry and dissension between these two forces are one of the chief stumbling blocks in the way of smoother and more rapid progress."

I know it is said that these Hindu-Muslim differences are the creation of the Europeans who create divisions in order that they may be able to divide you and in order that they may find it convenient to rule over you. It is a question of divide and rule policy. I however hold the view that it is not the Europeans who divide us but it is we Indians who divide ourselves and it is the Europeans who come and rule us. We divide and they rule us. It is not the Europeans who create the differences and make an Indian what he is. The difference is there. I do not for a moment mean to suggest that this makes the task of working out a constitution for India absolutely hopeless. I am only referring to facts.

Then, Sir, the other point that has got to be remembered is that at the present moment by reason of various facts, various events and various incidents the Muslims are in an extremely excited state. We who belong to that community know very well the strength of feeling

which exists so far as the protection of the rights of the community is concerned; but in saying so we make no reflection whatsoever on other communities. I am not here to adjudge who is to be blamed so far as this controversy is concerned. We do not for a moment claim that we are superior to others nor do we admit that we are inferior to others. The fact remains that we are different and we all know the accident of domicile has put us in a pitiable condition, but we are as much Indians as others and the fact remains that we have got a distinct religion, custom and culture to which we are passionately attached, which we cannot for any consideration whatsoever afford to forget or to neglect. I maintain that it is the view of every Muslim in India that if he is to be free he must be free as a Muslim and that no Muslim is prepared to forego his distinctive cultural, religious or political identity in order to attain some unimportant temporal power. If that is so, let us consider what is exactly the position. Once again I wish to emphasise that I am not discussing the causes for the facts; I am only stating the facts as they are.

Now, Sir, coming to certain figures, it has been said that the constitution of India can be settled by means of a Constituent Assembly. Remember for a moment the facts that were brought out by the last Census. In British India there are a little over 271 millions of inhabitants of which 176 millions are Hindus, 67 millions are Muslims, 3 millions are Sikhs and the rest belongs to various minorities, such as the Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and others. It has been said that the future of India can be determined by a Constituent Assembly, of which the members should be elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. The result will naturally be that in the House the members of the component parties will be represented in the same manner as in the population of the country. Taking one member to represent one million we would have in a House of 271 members, 176 Hindus, 67 Muslims, 3 Sikhs and the rest belonging to other communities. Does it require any imagination to understand that in this House of 271 members the voice of the 176 will dominate to such an extent that the others could be reduced to the position of having no voice at all? It is, therefore, incumbent on the majority community to remember that although they say that the voices of the masses must prevail, what they really mean is not the voices of the masses but the voices of the masses belonging to the majority community.

Now, Sir, it might be argued that so far as these representations are concerned there is no reason to suppose that the majority will necessarily impose its will on the minority. We have got some instances in which the question of the Constituent Assembly had been considered by other countries which have got Dominion Status and whose constitutions have been worked out by means of a Constituent Assembly; I

mean Australia, Canada and South Africa. I may state here, Sir, very briefly what happened in those three countries when the constitution came to be worked out by means of a Constituent Assembly. Remember that in all those three countries there is a homogeneity of race, language and culture which does not exist in India. The appalling nature of the diversity in India, if I may be allowed to revert once more to the subject, is revealed in the fact that in India there are no less than 221 vernaculars. 176 religious systems and 2,458,000 persons who practice religious professions, showing how very popular is the profession of those who take upon themselves the duty of imparting religious instructions to the people. Now in spite of their homogeneity what was it that took place in Australia, Canada and South Africa? In Australia it took 30 years' labour before they could agree to a constitution and this was possible only because the differences between different sections were due only to economic causes. In the case of Canada the question was inextricably mixed up with religion as is the case in India and the Roman Catholics of Quebec who were determined on safeguarding their political identity by means of constitutional safeguards. I read in one of the authentic reports of the House of Representatives that the constitutional framing of the Federation of Canadian Provinces were numerous and roused such racial and religious animosities that it astonished Sir John MacDonald and other great statesmen who represented the majority party in Canada.

Even so, their representation in the Dominion Parliament has been fixed by the Constitution Act and up to now they have invariably opposed every project which aimed at vesting the Dominion Parliament with the right to amend the Constitution Act. The representatives of the Catholic Canada have declared in no uncertain terms that they are not prepared to give this power to a Protestant majority in the Canadian Parliament.

Let us now come to South Africa. Here we find that the dispute between the English element and the Boers could be settled only after a devastating war which involved England in serious losses of men, money and prestige. The Convention which met after the Boer War was not a typical Constituent Assembly and the fundamental questions which seriously affected the English minority had been decided on many a battlefield in the years 1899 to 1902. Therefore if such could be the difficulty in Australia, Canada and South Africa, one can easily understand what will be the difficulty when you try to build up a constitution on the basis of Constituent Assembly. I submit, Sir, that the moment you touch the present imperfect constitution to replace it by something, the communal volcanoes will burst into explosion. The Muslims and other minority communities would not be prepared to give up the rights they have secured. Similarly the Hindus of Bengal and

the Sikhs of the Punjab will not tolerate the advantages which th Mussalmans are enjoying under the present constitution and which they will not be prepared to forego. May I respectfully submi to the House that up to now the Indian National Congres for which I have the greatest respect, has never ye attempted a satisfactory solution of the communal problem It attempted such a task in the Nehru Report but burnt it fingers, and the report itself was scrapped at Lahore. Up to now thi question—this communal question has not been properly tackled. am not going for a moment to apportion the blame. Whoever has t blame, the fact remains that the feeling still exists. Even now ever day questions are put to the Ministers, if there are some appointment given to the Muslims, and supplementary questions come in any number asking "why" the appointment was given to a Muslim. Thus we se an unedifying spectacle of communal bitterness even in a place like th Legislative Assembly.

Now, Sir, this is not the end of our troubles. There are the Princes and other interests. Let us forget for a moment the Europeans an others who are not Indians. What about those who are Indians them selves and who have got as much right to see that their rights are safe guarded as any body of men in India.

Now, Sir, what I feel is that it would not help India in the least i we Indians try to live in an atmosphere of unreality and try to deceiv not the world, but only ourselves. If we love India more than ourselve let us be true to our past traditions and true to our preachings of th various religions which we follow and which we consider to be capabl of giving us the best moral instructions, forgetting personal animositie and place the interests of the country before everything else. It is no the Europeans who are thwarting it. Who are the Europeans really i India? They are a handful. If we the minorities and the majoritie combine and can produce a suitable solution I can say that within a shor time the future of India is assured, and also the very next moment sh can get the Constitution she wants. Why should we go to the Britis Government and to the British people to give us independence. Inde pendence was never given by anyone to anybody. Independence ha got to be fought and fought out. (cries of "hear", "hear"). But in dependence cannot be got by mere applications and supplications make an earnest appeal not merely to the Hindus but to the Muslims t realize that the destiny of India lies in our own hands. It is no us blaming others when we ourselves are to blame. We are suspicious o ourselves, of one another. We do not think for a moment that the littl quarrels in which we get ourselves involved really mean disaster t India, and every word, every action which is detrimental to the nationa advance is something like a nail driven deep into the coffin of the politi cal liberty of India. Let us understand the position. Let me make on

more earnest appeal to all my friends. Here in India we have so many castes, communities, creeds and sections. Let us remember that we have got to walk on the path leading to India's goal together for many a long day. The Hindu cannot do without the Muslim. The Indian cannot do without the European. The minorities cannot do without the majorities. We cannot do without helping or seeking the help of one another. Let us realize this position, and let our common endeavour be to have a more united country and a much happier people.

Sir, there is one point in the resolution which I want to make clear. Towards the end, I have spoken of minorities, but I have not specified minorities. I have talked of recognized minorities. The Muslim League members insisted that the Muslims must be indicated there. We have decided not to quote any minority by name, but let me make it quite clear that the minorities must be understood to mean the Muslims, the Scheduled Castes, the Indian Christians, the Buddhists, all those whose interests have got to be protected just as much as the interests of the majority. I find there are two amendments, one by my friend Mr. Kshetranath Singha and the other by Mr. Monmohan Das to the effect that the words "Scheduled Castes" be introduced into that expression "minorities". The moment that is done there will be a complete list of minorities to be quoted, and I would ask my friends not to press their amendments and take this expression of the views I have put forward as a satisfactory solution of the problem. As a matter of fact I give the assurance that their interests would be as much safeguarded as that of the Muslims or of any other community.

Now, Sir, I formally move the Resolution that stands in my name, viz.—

"This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by totalitarian Governments in Europe and declares its complete sympathy with the British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in the defence of democracy and of the right of self-determination of the smaller and weaker nations which are now at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive dictator ridden States and cannot, unaided, maintain their territorial integrity.

This Assembly, therefore, authorises Government to assure the Government of India full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the war.

This Assembly further authorises the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government that in consonance with the aims of the present war, as declared by that Government, and understood by India and consistent with the accepted ideal of the British Empire as a Commonwealth of free nations, the attainment by India of the status of a Dominion as defined in the Statute of Westminister which is the

declared policy of the British Government, should be implemented immediately on the termination of the war and the New Constitution formulated should provide sufficient and effective safeguards for the recognised minorities and interests and should be based upon their full consent and approval." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, I rise to move the amendment that stands in my name. I move that paragraph 1 of the resolution which has just now been placed before the House by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister be amended as follows:—

"The words 'imperialistic and' be inserted between the words 'by' and 'totalitarian' in lines 2 and 3;

the words 'and outside' be inserted between the words 'in' and 'Europe' in line 3;

the words 'British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in the defence of democracy and of the right of self-determination of the' in lines 4-6 be deleted;

the words 'oppressed and' be substituted for the word 'smaller' in line 6;

the words 'dictator ridden' in lines 7-8 be deleted; and lastly,

the words 'and independence' be added after the word 'integrity' in line 9."

I think it will be useful if I were to read my whole amendment to paragraph 1 of the resolution. Paragraph 1 of the resolution as amended by me reads as follows:—

"This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by imperialistic and totalitarian Governments in and outside Europe, and declares its complete sympathy with the oppressed and weaker nations which are now at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive states and cannot, unaided, maintain their territorial integrity and independence."

Then, Sir, I move that for paragraphs 2 and 3 of the resolution of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, the following paragraphs be substituted:—

"This Assembly, however, regrets that the British Government have made India a participant in the war between Great Britain and Germany without the consent of the people of India and have further in complete disregard of Indian opinion passed laws and adopted measures curtailing the powers and activities of the Provincial Governments.

"This Assembly is of opinion that the Government should convey to the Government of India and through them to the British Government that in consonance with the avowed aims of the present war, it

is essential in order to secure the co-operation of the Indian people that the principles of democracy with adequate safeguards for the preservation of the rights and interests of the minorities, be immediately applied to India and her policy be guided by her people; and that India should be recognised as an independent nation entitled to frame her own constitution and further that suitable action should be taken in so far as it is possible in the immediate present to give effect to that principle in regard to the present goverance of India."

Sir, these are the amendments which I desire to place before the House. At the outset I would like to explain to the House the reasons why I have sought to introduce the word "imperialistic" in addition to the word "totalitarian". Sir, we are at one with the Hon'ble the Chief Minister in his abhorrence of the oppressive and ruthless methods pursued by totaiitarian Governments, but I was somewhat surprised that he should have omitted the word "imperialistic". If I may quote the words of a very distinguished Irishman, "that blessed word 'Empire' bears so paradoxical a resemblance to the word 'charity'! For if charity begins at home, Empire begins in other men's homes, and both may cover a multitude of sins." Sir, we, in India are determined that India and Indians must be much more to us, must mean much more to us than the Empire. ("Hear", "hear", from Congress Benches.) We want to protect and to beautify our own homes; we want to make the lives of our fellow-Indians worth living. And we are determined, whatever the temptation may be, not to choose even temporarily the vocation of an enterprising burglar, and enter other men's homes. Sir, imperialism even more than totalitarianism has darkened the prospects of human freedom in all parts of this world of ours. ("Hear", "hear", from the Opposition Benches.) Imperialism, I confess, is comparatively ancient and seems to have lost some of its virility for the moment. Totalitarianism is comparatively modern. Totalitarians have all the zeal and the energy of new converts. But that is no reason why we should forget the wrong inflicted on the world by Imperialists and Imperialism. Imperialism and totalitarianism are allies and, if I may use the colloquial expression, handmaids of Capitalism. Both have wrought havoc so far as the world's freedom is concerned, and so far as India and Indians are concerned. There is for us no choice between the two. If we hate totalitarianism, we hate imperialism more. We cannot forget that the wrongs done to India, the wrongs done to Ireland, the wrongs done to South Africa, the wrongs done to America, the wrongs that were in the past done to Canada and Australia, were inflicted by Imperialists and Imperialism.

Sir, I cannot prevail upon myself to hurry over these great considerations. It is good for us to understand what was done by Imperialists and Imperialism between the years 1914 and 1918 and in that

connection I propose to give the House a short enumeration of the false propaganda that was carried on in this world of ours by Imperialists and Imperialism,—false propaganda both in the matter of atrocity stories and in the matter of war aims. May I, Sir, remind the House of the oft-quoted sentence, which contains living truth in it, that "when war is declared, truth is the first casualty"? And in this connection, may I remind the House of what John Bright said on a memorable occasion—I do not remember for the moment, Sir, whether he said it on the floor of the House of Commons or in a public speech outside the House—but his words are still ringing in my ears, though you and I had not the good fortune of listening to him? He said, "You will find wars are supported by a class of arguments which after the war is over the people find were arguments they should never have listened to." Let me come to more modern times. Only the other day Mr. Stanley Baldwin said, "In the arena of international rivalry and conflict men have placed patriotism above truthfulness as the indispensable virtue of statesmen."

Sir, I was recently reading a book entitled "Falsehood in War Time" by Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., now Lord Ponsonby. A passage from his book will bear repetition in this connection. Arthur Ponsonby has said in that book, "there must have been more deliberate lying in the world from 1914 to 1918 than in any other period in the world's history. In war time, failure to lie is negligence, the doubting of a lie is a misdemeanour, the declaration of the truth is a crime."

Now, Sir, may I with your leave give a short resume of the different falsehoods both as regards war stories and as regards war aims which were given circulation, not accidentally but deliberately, by the highest of men during the period from 1914 to 1918? We heard often and often in the year of grace 1914 that the invasion of Belgium was the cause of the last Great War, but history now records after the lapse of only about two decades that Great Britain's prompt entry into the European war in 1914 was necessitated by her commitment to France, a commitment not known to the British people, a commitment, will you believe me, not known to the British Parliament, a commitment—and does it not sound stranger still—which was not known even to all the members of the British Cabinet. More than this, its existence was denied time and again by responsible Cabinet Ministers on the floor of the House of Commons in the year 1914. But how binding the engagement or the commitment was, was soon made clear in spite of deliberate denials and subterfuges. In the year 1919, on July the 5th, Marshal Joffre in giving evidence before a Paris Commission said, "A military convention existed with England which could not be divulged as it bore a secret character. We relied upon six English divisions and upon the assistance of the Belgians." It was somewhat later that Lord Loreburn, an ex-Lord High Chancellor of

Great Britain, said in his book, "How the War Came," that "the concealment from the Cabinet was protracted and must have been deliberate." I am quoting these extracts from the Works of well known men in order that the House may be in a position to assess the declared war aims at the proper value, so that this House may take lessons from the past in order to judge correctly in the future. About four years after the declaration of war, namely, on July 18th, 1918, Bonar Law said in the House of Commons, "It has been said and I think it is very likely true (mark the words, Sir) that if Germany had known for certain that Great Britain would have taken part in the war, the war would never have occurred." What becomes of that propaganda that because of Germany's invasion of Belgium the war started?

Then, Sir, coming to the next item of false propaganda, namely, that the murder at Serajevo of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the consequent Austrian ultimatum were the real causes of the war, I shall say that it is abundantly clear now in the light of subsequent disclosures that those were only the occasion and not the real causes of the war. It was—if I may borrow an expression, as far as I remember, used by the Earl of Roseberry—it was the match which set fire to the well-planned and well-stored powder magazine. Mr. Lloyd George said as early as the 21st September, 1914, in justification of the declaration of war by Great Britain that "the Serbian Government had nothing to do with it", that is to say, the murder of Archduke Ferdinand. But the startling revelation was soon to come regarding the complicity of the Serbian Government in the crime, and that revelation was made in the year of grace 1924. It was discovered and it was made clear to the whole world, not a corner of Serbia or Austria, that the whole Serbian Cabinet knew of the plot sometime before the murder took place. The previous denial of the Serbian Government of knowledge of the plot is now classed by modern historians as a "Serbian lie". Had the truth been known in July, 1914, the opinion of the British people with regard to the Austrian ultimatum would have been very different from what it was?

Now, Sir, may I give you another instance of false propaganda? It was said, as I have just now said, that the German invasion of Belgium was the cause of the war. Whatever may have been said at that time, history now records that the German invasion of Belgium was certainly not one of the causes of the war. It was undoubtedly one of the first consequences of the war, but not one of the causes. And that verdict has come not from a person who was not in the know, not from an enemy of Great Britain or of France, but from one of the French Generals. General Percin, the well-known Radical non-Catholic French General said in the year 1925—and I am indebted to the "Manchester Guardian" of January 27th, 1925, for this information

—General Percin said that "the violation of Belgian neutrality had for many years been an integral part of the war plans of the French General Staff and even of the French Government." Sir, the next false propaganda during the Great War was the accusation against Germany of sole responsibility. Sir, that accusation many members of this House, and particularly my honourable and learned friend, Mr. Goswami, will remember was the basis of the activity of Lord Northcliffe, who was in charge of war propaganda at the British Official Propaganda Department at Crewe House. We find not very much later Sir Campbell Stuart writing in his book "Secrets of Crewe House" that "the Allies must never be tired of insisting that they were the victims of deliberate aggression." Sir, the warning was sounded by Lord Rosebery—and I still remember the elegant sentences he gave expression to regarding himself in one of his speeches. Referring to himself, the noble Lord said, "Do not consider my utterances to be the croakings of a retired raven on a withered branch." Lord Rosebery said as early as August, 1914, that "it was really a spark in the midst of the great powder magazine which the nations of Europe have been building up for the last twenty or thirty years". What remains of the accusation of the sole responsibility of Germany for the Great War of 1914? A disinterested observer and judge, President Wilson said on September 5, 1919, with reference to Germany's sole responsibility, "Is there any man or woman—let me say, is there any child—who does not know that the seed of war lies in the modern world's industrial and commercial rivalry?" And, may I add, Sir, Imperialistic rivalry in the matter of domination over weaker and smaller nations? Sir, the truth had eventually to be told by Mr. Lloyd George than whom no one worked harder for the successful prosecution of the War. He said on December 23rd, 1920, "The more one reads the more one realises that no one at the head of affairs quite meant war at that stage." And Monsieur Raymond Poincare said in 1925, "I do not claim that Austria or Germany in the first place had a conscious thought-out intention of provoking a general war." Sir, that accusation was definitely abandoned when we come to the Locarno Pact of 1925—a pact which was drawn up between Germany, France and Great Britain. And I think I am right in saying that there is not the faintest echo of that accusation in the Locarno Pact; on the contrary, words quite contrary to that accusation were used on that occasion. The above quotations will, I hope, suffice to show and to prove beyond demonstration that the sole culpability of the enemy is, as has always been, a war time myth. I am taking this opportunity of reminding the House of these different observations regarding the Great War of 1914 because it is necessary for us at the present moment not to rush into forming a judgment. It is necessary for us to wait and see who is responsible, really responsible, for the war which has started.

Sir, I will not take up the time of the House by going into details so far as the stories of war atrocities are concerned. I shall just enumerate a few of them, which were circulated in order to keep up the war fever—stories such as the passage of Russian troops through Great Britain to the Western Front, the mutilated nurse, the activities of the criminal Kaiser and so on and so forth. May I pause here for one moment and tell the House that it was Lord Grey—if my recollection serves me right, he it was who declared war in 1914 on behalf of the British Government—it was Lord Grey who in his book "Twenty-five Years" at page 25, volume II, said, "If matters had rested with him (the so-called criminal Kaiser) there would have been no European War arising out of the Austro-Serbian dispute." Now, Sir, let me remind the House of some other atrocity stories which were circulated deliberately by the British Official Propaganda Department at Crewe House, namely, about the Belgian baby without hands and the destruction of the Louvain altar-piece by the Germans. Pausing there for one moment, may I remind the House of what the "New Statesman" said on April 12, 1924? It said "the picture is still in existence at Louvain perfectly intact"—the picture which was supposed to have been destroyed by the Germans was perfectly intact—"and the Germans were not its destroyers but its preservers. A German Officer saved it from the flames and gave it to the Burgomaster".

Then coming to false propaganda by means of which recruiting was commenced and continued, the recruiting propaganda was started with the false slogan that the phrase "contemptible little army" has been used by the German Kaiser with reference to the British Expeditionary Force in an order supposed to have been issued by him from German headquarters at Aix La Chapelle on August 19, 1914. A British General of the name of Sir F. Maurice declared in 1925 that it was a pure myth and fabrication, that the German headquarters was never at Aix La Chapelle and that no such order or anything like it was ever issued. Then we come to the atrocity stories of the Baby of Courbeck Loo, of crucified Canadians, of little Alf's stamp collection containing underneath the stamps the words "They have torn out my tongue, I could not put it in the letter," "they have cut off both my feet so that I cannot escape," of the Tattooed English prisoners supposed to have been tattooed with the German eagle, cobra and other devices. Sir, the last and the most revolting of all the war stories was the story of the Corpse factory—one of the most revolting lies ever invented by any man. It was started in 1917, and was not finally disposed of till the year 1925. It was, as history now records, the invention of an English Officer, Brigadier-General Charteris, who himself said later in a spirit of bravado at the time of dining at a Club—and that was in the year 1925—that in order to support that story what purported to be the diary of a German soldier was forged in his office. Sir, we

are indebted to the "Times" in its issue of October 22, 1925, for the unmasking of that lie. There was a deliberate and continued attempt to avoid making a complete denial and it was left finally to Sir Austin Chamberlain to nail the lie finally to the counter. Then, Sir, coming nearer home we come to the false propaganda regarding Turkey and Constantinople—the evasions and concealments regarding the fate of Constantinople. Members could not have forgotten the solemn declaration regarding Constantinople made by Sir Edward Grey in Parliament in 1916. But historical records now show that about a year before that, namely, on the 7th March, 1915, the then Russian Foreign Minister M. Sazonov had telegraphed to the Russian Ambassador in London—I am quoting the words of that telegraphic communication —"Will you please express to Grey the profound gratitude of the Russian Imperial Government for the complete and final assent of Great Britain to the solution of the question of the Straits and Constantinople in accordance with Russian desires." But that was not all. It was followed on December 2nd, 1916, by a statement by a Russian Minister of the name of M. Trepoff in the Russian Duma, in the course of which he declared that "an agreement which we concluded in 1915 with Great Britain and France, and to which Italy had adhered, established in the most definite fashion the right of Russia to the Straits and Constantinople." Sir, I will not take up any more of the time of the House by repeating the false and atrocious stories which were given circulation at that time. Their number was legion.

Sir, I shall now come to a subject even more pertinent than these atrocious stories, namely, the declared war aims in 1914. Sir, one of the declarations was—"it is a war to crush militarism" But what has followed this declaration? After peace was declared in 1918, after the War to crush militarism was over, Great Britain alone has spent from 1918 to 1926, thirteen hundred million pounds on armaments. Verily, verily, was it a war to crush militarism! The most extravagant and foolish of all slogans was started but facts are harder to repel than slogans. Sir, militarism cannot be crushed by mere declaration of war aims; it can only be crushed by the growth and development of democracy, of real democracy in an era of peace. That is how militarism can be crushed—not by war and threats of war.

Then, Sir, the second war aim which was declared in 1914 was, "It was a war to defend small nationalities." May I remind the House as to the results of the Great War of 1914? The war to defend smaller nationalities resulted in Montenegro, a small tract of country, being wiped out of existence; the British continued to occupy Egypt; the Syrians were subjected to severe repression by the French; the attempt of the Riffs to secure independence led to their being blotted

out from the map of the world; Nicaragua and Panama were subjected to the political domination of the United States. And Sir, if I may come nearer home, the struggles of India for freedom since 1920 have been sought to be put down on the ground that there were revolutionary or if I may use the word which it has been the fashion to use since the year 1932 as "subversive". Other instances, Sir, of struggles of small nationalities can be placed by me before the House, but unfortunately at the present moment I find that I am racing against time I shall, therefore, stop here

The third declared war aim of Great Britain in 1914, was, "It was a war to make the world safe for democracy." Now, Sir, the irony of that will be apparent if I remind the House that it was one of the declared war aims of the Allies, including Czarist Russia. Verily, verily, was the war in which Czarist Russia was one of the Allies a war to make the world safe for democracy! Its falsity and insincerity were proved by results. The war has been followed by ruthless dictatorship in Italy, an imitation of it in Spain, a veiled dictatorship that until recently existed in Poland, a series of attempted dictatorship in Greece and an approach to dictatorship in Hungary.

Now, Sir, the next declared war aim was "It was a war to end war". I should have thought that every school-boy knew that war does not end war, that war breeds war. Since 1918, after the conclusion of the Armistice war has never ceased in this world of ours. There has been war on the part of the Allies against Russia. There has been war between Turkey and Greece There have been Black and Tan exploits in Ireland. There has been armed occupation of the Ruhr. There has been war of France and Spain against the poor Riffs. There has been war of France against the Syrians. There has been military action on the part of the United States of America in Nicaragua. There has been fighting in Mexico and there has been incessant war in China. Verily, verily, was the last war a war to end war!

Sir, the last and most important of the declared war aims so far as we are concerned, was that Great Britain asked for no territory. We have the declaration which Mr. Asquith—as he then was—made in October, 1914. He said, "We have no desire to add to our Imperial burdens either in area or in responsibility." It was followed by the declaration of Mr. Bonar Law in December, 1917, "We are not fighting for territory", preceded by the declaration of Mr. Lloyd George in February 1917—"We are not fighting a war of conquest." We have at about the same time the declaration of Mr. Walter Long, a member of the British Cabinet of the time, namely, "such a victory as will give not aggrandizement of territory nor any extension of Empire". Now, Sir, let us consider the results of the war so far as Great Britain is concerned. Egypt which was formerly under Turkish suzerainty became part of the British Empire and the area

of that part of the world was 350,000 square miles. Cyprus, formerly under Turkish suzerainty, became a part of the British Empire. It was a small tract no doubt with an area of about 3,584 square miles. German South-West Africa was to be held under a mandate by the Union of South Africa, which was a part of the British Empire, the area being 322,450 square miles. German East Africa was to be held under a mandate by Great Britain, the area being 384,180 square miles. Togoland and Cameroons were divided between Great Britain and France and the half share of Great Britain in that part of the world was 112,415, square miles. Samoa was to be held under a mandate by New Zealand, a part of the British Empire. It was a small tract no doubt with an area of only 1,050 square miles. German New Guinea and the islands south of the Equator were to be held under a mandate by Australia, a part of the British Empire, the area being 90,000 square miles. Palestine was to be held under a mandate by Great Britain having an area 9,000 square miles. And last but not the least, Mesopotamia and Iraq were to be held under a mandate by Great Britain—an area of 143,250 square miles. Sir, the total in square miles was 1,415,929. Sir, it was not a "war of conquest" because Lloyd George had denied it! It was not a war for territorial aggrandizement because Bonar Law had denied it! It was not a war for extension of the Empire because Walter Long had denied it! It was not a war for adding to the Imperial burdens either in area or in responsibility because Asquith had denied it! Now, Sir, the total of over one million square miles was not a negligible or inconsiderable total of conquests, or of territory or of territorial aggrandizement or of additions to Imperial burdens in area and responsibility, call it by whatever name you please!

Now, Sir, regarding the present war aims, I cannot do better than quote a few words of that great citizen of the world, George Bernard Shaw, which was published in a recent issue of the "New Statesman and Nation". (Ironical laughter from the European and Coalition Benches.) I find some of my European friends to my left laughing. I know it is difficult, almost impossible for some to understand and appreciate George Bernard Shaw. I know it is difficult for some of them to understand and appreciate the articles in the "New Statesman and Nation". They are too high for mortals like them.

Sir, as regards the present war aims—and that is the subject to which the Hon'ble the Chief Minister referred to in his resolution as also in his speech—this is what George Bernard Shaw writes, "Mr. Chamberlain in reply states our aims in a peroration. Mr. Winston Churchill echoes it in a broadcast with a certain sense of its absurdity which the microphone betrays. Our aim is first to deliver Europe from the threat and the fear of war and our remedy is to promise it by a three-year war and more. Next, to abolish Hitlerism root and

branch. Well, what about beginning by abolishing Churchillism. But we are told if we do not send Hitler to St. Helena, he will proceed to annex Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Africa and finally the entire universe, and Stalin will help him. I must reply that men who talk like this are frightened out of their wits. Stalin will see to it that nobody, not even our noble selves, will do anything of the sort, and Franklin Roosevelt will be surprised to find himself exactly of Stalin's opinion in this matter. Had we not better wait until Herr Hitler tries to do it and then stop him with Stalin and Roosevelt at our back?"

"'The Archbishop of York in the next broadcast rose finally to the occasion as became a great Christian prelate. Unfortunately, he began not as a Christian prelate, but as a righteously angry hot-headed Englishman by giving his blessings to our troops as dedicated to the supreme immediate duty of lynching Herr Hitler and his associates. Now, I cannot go into the question whether Herr Hitler deserves to be lynched without raising awkward analogies between his case and those of Signor Mussolini, General Franco, Stalin and his associates, and raking up events in India and Ireland which unfriendly pens have represented as somewhat dictatorial on our part. I simply remind the Archbishop that though we can easily kill 100,000 quite innocent Germans in our determination to get at Hitler, we should not finally succeed in lynching him, and the killing of Germans and our own losses in the process would produce a state of mind on both sides which would operate as a complete black-out of Christianity and make the Archbishop's sane final solution impossible. If we won, it would be Versailles over again, only worse, with another war even less than 20 years off. And if, as is desperately possible we drove Russia and Germany into a combination against us to avert that catastrophe, which is just what our Stalinphobe, Old School Ties, and Trade Unionists are recklessly trying to do, then we shall indeed need God's help and not deserve it. No, it will not do, however thickly we butter it with bunk and balderdash about liberty, democracy and everything we have just abolished at home."

I would ask the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to ponder over these observations: "No, it will not do, however thickly we butter it with bunk and balderdash about liberty, democracy and everything we have just abolished at home.'"

George Bernard Shaw proceeds:

"As the Archbishop nobly confesses, we made all the mischief, we and the French, when we were drunk with victory at Versailles; and if that mischief had not been there for him to undo Adolf Hitler would have now been a struggling artist of no political account. He

actually owes his eminence to us. So, let us cease railing at our own creation, and recognise the ability with which he has undone our wicked work and the debt the German nation owes him for it. Our business now is to make peace with all the world instead of making more mischief and ruining our people in the process."

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bose, I am sorry to interrupt you, but you have spoken for 45 minutes and you know my difficulties. There are very important amendments by other members and I hope you will kindly finish.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I think my Whip has informed you that if necessary we shall cut one of our speakers.

Mr. SPEAKER: But I would request you to realise that there are very important amendments tabled by other Oppostion members and we have got only two days' time.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I remind you, Sir, that the Hon'ble the Chief Minister will have a right of reply while I won't have any?

Now, Sir, coming to the second and third paragraphs of my amendment to the resolution, we on this side of the House have expressed our regret that India has been made a participant in the war without her consent and that laws have been passed and measures adopted curtailing the powers and the activities of the provincial Governments. Sir, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has talked of co-operation. I can understand, Sir, co-operation between equals. I do not understand co-operation between a master and his bond-slaves; I cannot understand co-operation between a Captain and his galley-slaves. Sir, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has put forward the excuse for the consumption of the House that if India had been consulted secrets would have been disclosed. May I ask him what about the Dominions? If it was possible to consult Canada without secrets being disclosed, if it was possible to consult Australia without secrets being disclosed, if it was possible to consult important men in South Africa without secrets being disclosed, is it to be said in this House that it was not possible to consult India without secrets being disclosed?

Then, Sir, coming to the Government of India Amendment Act, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister's observations really took my breath away. He said the amendment to the Government of India Act which was passed by both Houses of the British Parliament, in September last was not with a view to curb the powers of the provincial Governments.

I wondered, Sir, when he was speaking, whether he had the time or the opportunity to read the amendments to the Government of India Act which have been passed by the British Parliament, the amendments which make it legally competent for the Central Government to issue instructions and mandates to provincial Governments, the amendments which give power and authority to officials of the Central Government by legislation and rules to over-ride if necessary the provincial Governments. Are we to be seriously told to-day that they are not amendments made with a view to curb the powers of the provincial Governments? ("Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.) Sir, the war, so far as we are concerned, was not declared until, I think, the 3rd of September, 1939. Two or three days thereafter we had in Bengal the result of the powers exercised by the Central Government in the shape of the Defence of India Ordinance. The instructions of the Government of India were meekly, docilely followed by the Bengal Provincial lamb in their notifications and rules. ("Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.) Sir, the Defence of India Ordinance and the notifications made thereunder were not promulgated for the defence of India's freedom. They were promulgated for the defence and perpetuation of India's slavery. Are we to hear, are we to be told to-day, that the provisions we find in the notifications do not deprive persons of their elementary rights - the right of free speech, the right of free association, the right of holding meetings, the right of leading processions? These are the elementary rights of the subject. And the notifications under the Ordinance which deprive the people of these rights, we are seriously told, are not measures which curb the liberty of the people!

Sir, the Defence of the Realm Act in England is not one-tenth as hard and stringent as the Defence of India Ordinance and yet what does Bernard Shaw say about them? Says he, "Meanwhile we are enduring all the vagaries, from mere discomfort to financial ruin and the breaking up of our homes, of the ineptest Military Communism. Powers which no Plantagenet King or Fascist Dictator would dream of claiming have been granted to any unqualified person who offered to assume them, including an enterprising burglar." I repeat, Sir, that the Defence of India Ordinance was promulgated for the defence and perpetuation of India's slavery; and certainly we in this province had a right to expect that our Provincial Government would have raised its voice of protest against the taking away of powers which had been conferred on it under the Government of India Act.

Then, Sir, I come to the last portion of the resolution and the third paragraph of my amendment in connection therewith. Sir, we on this side have asked the House to support us in demanding that it is essential in order to secure the co-operation of the Indian people that

the principles of democracy with adequate safeguards for the preservation of the rights and interests of the minorities, be immediately conceded. The Chief Minister in his resolution talks of the "Statute of Westminister". May I in all humility ask him whether he really took pains to read the Statute of Westminister? In his resolution he has said, "the accepted ideal of the British Empire as a Commonwealth of free nations, the attainment by India of the status of a Dominion as defined in the Statute of Westminister which is the declared policy of the British Government". Sir, I should have thought that anyone who was familiar with what went on at the Round Table Conferences and during the meetings of the Joint Select Committee well knew that the declared policy of the British Government was the very negation of what the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has put in his resolution. Dominion, may I tell the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, has been defined in that Statute to mean the following countries and the following countries only, namely, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, and Newfoundland? When a suggestion was made by some Indian representatives that India should be classed as a Dominion within the meaning of the Statute of Westminister, the claim was abruptly negatived. Where does the Chief Minister find that the declared policy of the British Government was that India should be classed as a Dominion within the meaning of the Statute of Westminister?

The bogey of minorities, the false bogey has been raised—

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Oh, verily, verily.

Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: From this side of the House there was no interruption.

Mr. SPEAKER: You interrupted the Hon'ble the Chief Minister once.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I know it is quite impossible for my friend, Mr. Suhrawardy to understand or appreciate what I said, but those who have read———

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I have uttered only two words "Verily", "verily".

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Go to the share market and you will have better business there.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Those of us who have read English history, who know of the disputes between the Protestants and the Catholics in England, who know how the Protestants and the Catholics quarrelled with one another, who know how Protestants were burnt at the stake, also know how to assess at its proper value the false bogey of minorities. The Chief Minister added that there were differences of race, differences of religion, differences of culture, and so on. May I ask him to remember what is happening to-day in the eastern extremity of the western world? The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, popularly known as the U. S. S. R. consists of at least 52 nationalities, 52 main languages apart from dialect, any number of religions, churches preaching Protestantism and Catholicism, the Greek Church, the Armenian Church and numerous other sects and sub-sects and also consist of Muslims and Buddhists. I should have thought that anyone who was conversant with the development of the western world would have hesitated before raising this bogey of difference of race, difference of religion, difference of language.

As regards minorities, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister referred to Canada. Has he read Lord Durham's report on the Canadian Constitution? The same arguments were trotted out by Great Britain regarding Canada—disputes between the English and the French, between Protestants and the Catholics, differences in language, and so on. But eventually when that great statesman Lord Durham submitted his report, the statesmen in Great Britain felt that the game was up and conceded Self-Government to Cadada.

Now, as regards the Constituent Assembly—I propose to finish the subject in five minutes and shall leave it to other members on my side to develop it—may I only say this, that the experiment was tried in Canada where there was difference of race, difference of religion, difference of nationalities. That experiment was also tried in South Africa, and in the Irish Free State where the dispute between the Protestants and the Catholics was very great indeed, and that experiment succeeded! From what we know and what we can judge to-day, that experiment is bound to succeed in this country if it is attempted.

As regards the minorities, we on this side of the House, following the Congress decision, have attached the greatest importance to the rights and interests of the minorities. We have declared more than once that their voice will prevail in all matters affecting them. What more can be said at this stage when there is no offer from the British Government to concede to us our rights?

Sir, in 1914 hopes were raised of self-government if Indians shed their life blood on the battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa. It was said that if Indians went by thousands and tens of thousands to

die in the battlefields, they would be winning self-government for their country. Sir, it is unnecessary to review the long list of British promises made only to be broken, the long list of Indian hopes raised only to be dashed to the ground. We will refuse, Sir, to listen to the voice of those well-known sirens any more. We refuse to beg with bated breath and whispering humbleness to subsist in our own land. Self-government is our right—a right not to be granted to us by a foreign power. Self-government is our birth-right—the right to feel the Indian sun, the right to smell Indian flowers, the right to think our own thoughts, to sing our own songs, and to love our kind. It is a right which we are not prepared to barter away in exchange for any false promise on the part of Great Britain or any other nation. If to demand our birth-right is to be a rebel in act and deed, I shall say on behalf of myself and the party which I have the honour to represent—if to demand our birth-right is to be a rebel in act and deed, quoting the words of a great Irishman I shall say, "I am proud to be a rebel and shall cling to my rebellion with the last drop of my blood". (Applause.) I would appeal to this House to rise to the height of its stature, to remember that the fate of India is in their hands at this moment, to remember that by what we do to-day we shall be judged, to remember that it is our duty to do something effective, something noble, something great by which we can earn the blessings of our children, our children's children, the blessings of remote posterity.

Mr. Speaker, I have done.

Mr. Speaker called Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee to speak.

(When Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee rose to speak, Mr. Speaker desired to take up the amendments first.)

Mr. SPEAKER: It seems to me that if we have to go through all the amendments there will hardly be sufficient time to conclude the debate by to-morrow. Therefore, I should like to know the Government attitude towards this matter, because I find there are as many amendments as Nos. 1 to 14 and 16, on which the members would like to speak. All these amendments will no doubt take a very long time.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I personally think that another day should be allotted and that Friday should be given for this subject. It is not desirable to prevent any member from speaking on this very important subject, simply because he has not tabled any amendment. After all, those who have given notice of amendments are confining themselves to particular points whereas the entire issue raised may be generally discussed by other members.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: Sir, Friday is a non-official day and we are not prepared to lose a single non-official day. I may intimate to you that there will be only one amendment from our side, namely, that of Mr. Banarji.

Mr. SPEAKER: I should like to know which of the members intend moving their amendments.

(The following members signified their desire to move the amendments standing in their names:—

Mr. Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy—one amendment;

Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi—one;

Mr. Premhari Barma—one;

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee—one;

Mr. M. Shamsuddin Ahmad—one;

Mr. Abul Hashim—one.)

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: May I suggest that we may sit on Saturday to discuss this topic?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry that personally it would be very inconvenient to me.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: In that case we have no objection to taking it over to Monday.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, it cannot be taken up on Monday, because we have other important Government business.

(At this stage there was some noise in the House on account of conversation amongst members in every Group.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I think in a matter like this there should be a talk only between the Chief Whip and the Leader, and not amongst others, because in that case there will be only multiplicity of suggestions and we will be at a place deeper than the Indian Ocean.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: Sir, my submission is that if the Coalition benches want to put up more speakers and so to extend the debate we have no objection, but we have serious objection to allow them to encroach on a non-official day.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you speak to-day, Mr. Wordsworth?

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, my province is to make a few observations on the first half of the resolution on behalf of my group, and I speak as an Englishman who loves his country, who loves to estimate what, it does, and to speak out what I feel when it does wrongly and when it does rightly; and here I claim that my country is acting properly and justly in the action it has now taken. I shall not go far back into history. I would at the outset ask the House to notice that in spite of certain comments and censors that we do hear from this place and that, and from this group and that, a very large part of the opinion of the world, in the belligerent countries and also neutral countries, is behind England and France in the fight they are now making. I do not claim that my country has always been right on its way to her present position. Many others have views of their own about different incidents and different events. But we are concerned now not with what happened in 1914 or 1918 or 1925 or 1929, or at the time of Lord Durham in Canada a hundred years ago, but we are here to-night to decide what we should do now in India. I maintain, therefore, as my thesis, that now Great Britain and France are fighting to do the right thing; having given a pledge to Poland, it was honourable to both of them to take up arms, and they have undertaken to fight for a just and noble cause; they accepted the challenge when it was thrown down to them.

May I, Sir, touch here on a matter of personal experience. I was in England in July and August last and I noticed that nearly everyone I came across was under a great strain. That strain was due to the shock of what had happened a year, and six months, ago. The people generally felt that doom was at hand, not doom in the way of destruction, but doom in the shape of a war that would shake civilization to its very foundations and put back the march of progress several generations. And the cause of this war was what we briefly call Munich—the understanding between four great men arrived at there, and its cynical and contemptuous repudiation by one of them a few months later. After that what else was possible? Nothing, it seemed to the people in England. There was nothing left for them but to wait helplessly until the danger burst over them, and when it actually came to face it with courage, vigour and determination.

I wish to emphasize certain of the details of this, because they are necessary for an undertaking of the psychology of the English people in this war. Remember exactly what happened. Two Dictators of two great countries and two Prime Ministers of two great countries met at Munich to discuss the great danger to Europe. They arrived at a settlement. Germany and the others undertook to guarantee Czecho-Slovakia against any danger. The four together did

this. They assured Czecho-Slovakia that she was safe for future. Herr Hitler wrote out in his own hand and signed a statement to that effect for Mr. Chamberlain to read to the British Parliament. A few months later German armies marched into defenceless Czecho-Slovakia, overran the land, with a considerable amount of cruelty to the people of the land. The explanation offered was "The mood of Munich had passed" (Hitler's own words). Herr Hitler again and again has further said "who is there to stand against Germany's might?" This I think the lowest depth of degradation to which international politics had descended for many generations. I have spoken of fate and doom. Another metaphor may be used. The British people and the French and the people of Europe generally, especially the small countries had a glimpse of the bottomless pit and it was horrifying. How could Nations deal with one another in peace time after this? During war it is they depend on force; but in peace time they try and settle their difficulties by the spoken and written word—by discussion, understanding, by treaties and pacts. But what happens to the world, what happens to men, and what happens to peace, if words, promises, pacts and agreements are only vulgar tricks, instruments of deceit, ways of cheating neighbours. There was only one course left, viz., force, and that was a feeling throughout England this summer and has been the feeling there and in many other countries since these events happened.

Now, I ask you to consider these matters in another way. Herr Hitler dishonoured himself and dishonoured his country, and so far as I know, there was no adverse criticism from that great nation, no sign that any want of rectitude was felt. He dishonoured and humiliated his great ally, Mussolini, and his country Italy. He dishonoured and humiliated the Premiers of England and France, and their countries.

Now, Sir, these are not merely the details of a historical fact. They are something very much more than that. They are the details of an enormity, of a rejection of human decency, of an outrage on the spirit of man. Unless you can feel this you will not feel the mood, the depressed mood of England and France of late. In Sir Neville Henderson's last report, of his last few days' stay at Berlin, he said that Herr Hitler was profoundly surprised that his action in overrunning Czecho-Slovakia evoked great indignation in Britain. He had never expected that. He had presumably looked upon it merely as a piece of smartness in international relations. He had outwitted neighbours, associates and potential opponents, and he did not see why there should be any serious objection to it. May I also remind the House that Poland was given by Herr Hitler himself a treaty a few years ago that settled all the points at issue except

Danzig and arranged that Danzig and its problems should not be brought up between the two countries until after a stated number of years. I forget the date, but I think it was, not until 1942. We can see ourselves what has happened to that solemn undertaking!

Mr. Chamberlain, shaken, shocked, turned away from his policy of appeasement or as many would like to call it, in this country and elsewhere, his policy of continued surrender. That policy had to be changed. German policy had declared itself clearly. It was no longer sufficient to get all Germans everywhere into the German fold. Other countries, other peoples not German, were in danger. So the countries that were in danger turned to one another, and Britain and France tried to build up a peace front, a front so strong by alliances that aggression would of itself fall back. That was not all. It was only part of the policy. The rest of the policy was what Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose suggested as desirable a few minutes ago, to build up behind this defence, a new spirit, a new hope, new relations between countries in which all might join to make together a new and a happy world where all forces that make for war would disappear. That was a fine conception but it did not go very far. Poland joined the front. Turkey was preparing to join when the danger broke. And the danger broke because Germany and Russia joined hands, or if that is an excessive statement, touched fingers. They had been deadly enemies in spirit and in action. They had breathed brimstone and sulphur at each other for years. And suddenly out of opportunism they joined together thinking that between them they could force a certain line of conduct on all the other powers of Europe.

So the future is dark. World opinion I claim is preponderant that Britain and France are doing the right thing, and that the hope of the smaller nations and indeed the hope of many larger nations, is bound up with their success. If they fail what is left? I would like to give the House a simple exercise in imagination. Supposing Herr Hitler were given an Alladin's lamp, with an omnipotent spirit for its slave. What would he do with it? His first act would certainly be to give some very drastic orders for dealing with Mr. Churchill. After that, the British and French people would be dealt with, and then the whole Empire. And I do not see how India would come out of it unscathed. Bismarck laid down a principle of statecraft for Germany, that Germany's interest demanded the extermination of the Poles. To that Herr Hitler added another, which you will find written again and again in his book though not until recently was it included in the English translation; that was, that the interest of Germany demanded the annihilation of France as a power in Germany's way. He has said other things in his speeches, but the written word remains, and an occasional friendly speech about France

certainly does not remove from the German mind the terrible effect of that written attack on France. France has had every reason to be nervous of the future and to make every preparation in time for its own defence. We know now something more than we did a few months ago. We know, for example, that Herr Hitler believed that England and France would not fight. Sir Nevile Henderson's report to which I have referred gave a fine study of warped psychology. May I tell the House also that Herr Hitler solemnly told his country, "if there is a God anywhere, it is I!" How can any Government deal with a man of such mental temperament who has such mighty power behind him?

I saw the British people change over from peace to war. There was no anger, no fear, no hysteria, no angry or vulgar abuse of the enemy. They were calm, with quiet determination to face whatever might come. I saw nothing in my country to justify the hard things that have been said about it to-day. Cromwell once said something that I think describes England to-day. He said he wanted for service in war a russet-coated Captain who knew what he fought for and loved what he knew. I do not believe that the British people to-day are fighting for any of these base ideas of aggrandisement that have been suggested to us. They could not avoid this war, they could not in honour avoid it. They had given their word, and they had given their word properly, because it was necessary for something to be done by someone if mankind, first of all in Europe and then everywhere, is not to fall under intimidation, and fierce regimentation of a terrible type. The English people are not the cravens they have been painted in Nazi Germany; not such as they have been occasionally sneered at by some papers in their Empire. Would you blame them for avoiding a terrible war as long as they could? If you blame them for that, why blame them also because when the test comes they find they are in honour and interest bound to face the danger and do what they can to save themselves and others?

We, a legislature, can to-day do something to hearten the men and the race, both races, who stand face to face with an ugly enemy to keep the world's foundations in their place. We are asked to show by our vote that we have sympathy and encouragement for two brave nations so situated and, I have no suspicion that the House will refuse that encouragement.

Mr. SPEAKER: Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy: you move your motion. Will you move to-day?

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: I will move to-morrow. Kindly allow me to consult my party leader.

Mr. SPEAKER: If you do not want to move it, that is another thing. I am sorry I can't allow you to move that to-morrow.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: May I submit that you ask Dr. Mookerjee to move his motion?

Mr. SPEAKER: I thought that this debate would be conducted in one manner. But in view of the fact that it is not being conducted in the manner I thought, I am following the agenda. Your game comes second.

Mr. UPENDRA NATH BARMAN: I beg to move that in paragraph 3 in line 21 of the Resolution, as notified, after the word "constitution" the rest of the paragraph be omitted and the following clause and paragraph be added, namely:—

"be framed by a Constituent Assembly, in which the agriculturists and the labourers of the country will have real, effective and superior representation".

"This Assembly further authorises the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government, that in order that India's full co-operation as indicated in paragraph 2 might be a spontaneous one, the declaration in terms as indicated in paragraph 3 may be made forthwith."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and after him Mr Wordsworth spoke elaborately on the first part of the Resolution and I beg to associate myself with their remarks. The first part says that the British Government was forced to take up arms against the German aggression, and I agree with it.

As regards the second and the third parts, I wish to deal with them jointly and my amendment is to that effect. So far as the Congress amendment is concerned, it proposes that unless and until the British Government gives an immediate declaration that India would have independence just after the termination of the war, the Indian people cannot give their full co-operation. Government Resolution on the other hand does not propose any such condition precedent but rather unreservedly supports the war and offers full co-operation on the part of India. In the third part of the Government Resolution the Chief Minister also says that he wants Dominion Status as defined by the Statute of Westminister but that so far as the constitution is concerned, it will be framed after the attainment of Dominion Status in such a way that the rights of the minorities and recognised interests will be safeguarded. Until and unless the full support of the minorities is received, that constitution would not be accepted in India. Minority interests are of such vital importance that there should be a consensus of opinion in this case. The Viceroy has stated that he would consider our case if

we came to a joint agreement. He says that the British Government have the idea of Dominion Status as the goal of India. Joint agreement is then a real difficulty! It is the suspicion of the Congress Party that joint agreement is an impossible contingency and India will never get Dominion Status. The intention of the Government Resolution so far as I understand it, is that it would not be right to accept the Constituent Assembly as the sole criterion of framing the new constitution. It has been said both by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and Mr. Jinnah, the President of the Muslim League, that this constituent Assembly will be nothing but a bigger edition of the Hindu Mahasabha. And the British Government probably means that if we can come to a joint agreement and if the major communities are united in their demand, then they will certainly be ready to grant Dominion Status.

Sir, it must be conceded that this demand of the Britishers is based on certain realities. Up till now we find that the Muslim League is quite suspicious of the Congress on the plea that the Constituent Assembly will be nothing but a greater Hindu Mahasabha which will override the interests of the Muslim minorities. And in such a case, the Britishers will be justified in saying that as you are quarrelling amongst yourselves, how can you accuse us of withholding Dominion Status! So my suggestion is, let both the communities come to a general agreement on the basis of which the country as a whole can advance a united demand to the British Parliament. And for the formulation of such a demand I suggest that the Constituent Assembly be constituted not on a communal or religious basis but of sound economic principle. On that basis of sound economic principle, the Constituent Assembly will be a true spokesman of the masses, the agriculturists and the labourers, who as producers, of the country's wealth, should have the uppermost voice in the Assembly. Such an Assembly will no doubt faithfully represent the Hindus, Muslims, Indian Christians and other minorities without giving undue importance to their denominations but solely with an eye to their economic betterment. So my appeal to both the Hindus and Muslims is, to take up their stand on the basis of a common economic principle and then proceed to joint deliberations on that basis In that case, the poor agriculturists and labourers who are being exploited not only by the foreigner Britishers but also by both the Hindu and Muslim capitalists and middle classes, will no longer be at the mercy of others. So, if there is representation on economic principle and not on denominational ground, there will certainly be economic liberation of the masses to some extent.

It might be argued that the representatives of the agriculturists and labourers might not have the talent to frame a constitution for the Indian people but my answer to that is, that not only will there be representatives of the masses in the Assembly but also of other interests

and minorities and there will always be some talented members who will try to lead the majority by formulating proposals acceptable to them. In that case, even a minority group belonging to the upper classes might influence the majority group in the Assembly. Then the Hindu-Muslim question would disappear and the question of economic liberation of the masses would come to the forefront.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. PREMHARI BARMA: Sir, I beg to move that in paragraph 3 of the War Resolution after the word "formulated" the words "by a Constituent Assembly called for the purpose" and after the word "minorities" the words "including the Scheduled Castes" should be inserted.

Sir, by this resolution Government want that Dominion Status should be granted to India—Dominion Status as defined in the Statute of Westminister—but they are silent over the main question of framing the constitution by which the future democratic India will be governed. If we really want Dominion Status and self-determination, we must have the right of framing our own constitution. Expressions like "democracy" and "self-determination" become meaningless if the constitution by which India is to be governed is to be framed by an outside body. We are not aware of a single democratic country in the world whose constitution was not framed by the people of the country themselves, but by an outside country. It is rather derogatory on our part that while we are demanding Dominion Status by this resolution, we are at the same time silent over the question of our right of framing our own constitution. The reason for this is not far to seek. The reason is that some of the minorities have an apprehension that if the power of framing the constitution is given to the people of India, the rights of the minorities will be in danger. In this connection I want to mention the name of the Scheduled Castes who belong to the minorities on the ground that because the other communities who are not helpless but can take care of themselves want to safeguard their interests the interests of the Scheduled Castes who are helpless and cannot take care of themselves should all the more be safeguarded. The Scheduled Castes are backward and illiterate and they cannot take care of themselves. So my opinion is that if there are safeguards for protecting the rights and interests of the minorities as they are provided in the Government Resolution then we shall have no apprehension for the interests of the minorities being disregarded if the constitution is framed by the people themselves. Just as we are claiming to be equal partners of the British Commonwealth we also want that each and every community of India should also be equal partners of the Indian Commonwealth, if I may call

it so. So I suggest that we should also press for the right of framing a constitution by which India may be governed when we get Dominion Status.

Sir, the question of safeguarding the interest does not lie so much in some conditions in an Act as it lies in the good-will and sincerity and anxiety of the different communities of India. If we have mutual trust and sincerity amongst the different communities then we shall not have any difficulty in framing a constitution for India.

With regard to the other amendment, Sir, I beg to submit that the words "recognised minorities" have been used not only to include Sikhs and Muslims but also to include the Scheduled Castes. With these few words, Sir, I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. AMRITA LAL MONDAL: Sir, I beg to move—

(1) That in paragraph 3 in the 5th line of the resolution, as notified, after the words "free nations" the following lines be added:—

"There should be an immediate declaration in the British Parliament as to."

(2) Also add after "British Government" in the (3rd paragraph) 8th line of the resolution——

"and to the effect that it."

(3) After "interests" in the 11th line of 3rd paragraph add—

"specially Scheduled classes which should be based on the full consent and approval of their accredited representatives."

And omit rest of the sentence.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Singha, will you move your amendment?

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: Sir, I do not like to move my amendments Nos. 2, 3 and 4 in view of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister's assurance that he will include the Scheduled Castes among the minorities. Only I like to move my amendment No. 1, i.e., in continuation of paragraph 2 and after the word "war" add the following:—

"by enlisting men in active military service from all provinces and communities".

Sir, may I make my speech to-morrow because the House is practically empty to-night?

Mr. SPEAKER: Probably because you are suggesting "active military service" (laughter).

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: Sir, the House is already very thin and I think it would be better if I could speak to-morrow after Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has done.

Mr. SPEAKER: I wish you to finish your speech to-night as there are other speakers who will speak to-morrow.

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: In that case, Sir, I do not want to move any amendment.

Mr. AMRITA LAL MONDAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, my purpose for moving this amendment is to emphasise those points which have been left out from the official resolution. As it has been worded, it clearly appears that Government want almost to offer unconditional co-operation to British Government in the prosecution of the war. I feel and even admit that the war waged by the British Government against barbarous regime of the Nazis in Germany which tramples upon all principles of freedom and democracy is a just war in which we Indians pining for freedom should join. The British Government also in their statement of war aims so far have emphasised this noble aspect of the war. But what I want to make clear is that our co-operation although due should be sought by granting up the same state of freedom for which the war was evidently waged. I am therefore in favour of urging upon the British Government that they should first of all make a clear declaration that immediately after the termination of the war—may be after one year or two years—India should be granted full Dominion Status, such as is enjoyed by Australia, South Africa or Ireland. I do not say that Dominion Status should be granted to India to-day, but what we want is only a declaration by British Government about the goal which India wants to reach. The statements made by the Viceroy and the British Government in England contain only vague promises. We want a clear definition of what we want and should get.

Speaking about the Scheduled Castes, I should state also that in this declaration it should be made clear that adequate and effective safeguards will be introduced in this constitution for minority communities, especially the Scheduled Castes. But the nature and character of these safeguards must be determined in a Constituent Assembly consisting of the accredited representatives of all parties and without the full consent and approval of these parties the constitution will not take effect. I am anxious to emphasise this point because I want to make it clear that the interests of minorities should not be subordinated to the were wishes of the majority.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, co-operation in the war should be offered and I have no doubt that India will co-operate in such a good cause, but only if these conditions are fulfilled. We should not certainly be called upon to sacrifice our men and money for fighting the enemies of democracy and liberty as Germany has chosen to be, when we ourselves are in want of full-fledged democracy in our midst. I therefore join issue with the official resolution and request Government to convey to Britsh Government what we expect in the name of democracy and freedom. We justify their war, but at the same time we feel about the need for an unequivocal declaration to the effect that India will be made a full partner in the commonwealth of free nations which the British Empire is defined to be.

Lastly I may say that in any scheme of co-operation if conditions are what we expect them to be, Bengal will not be lagging behind in enthusiasm or in making sacrifice. During the last war Bengalee regiments played heroic parts and we still cherish memories of them. In the present emergency also Bengal will rise to the occasion if it is required. But it should be mentioned here that Bengalees have not so far received adequate opportunity of military training. This is indeed a matter of standing grievance on the part of Bengal which Government should voice. I would not dilate on this matter but I conclude my speech only hoping that along with the other alleged martial races of India Bengalees should be given sufficient scope for military training even in peace time, apart from the emergency of a war like the present one.

With this, I commend my amendment to the acceptance of the House.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: I beg to move that this Assembly associates itself with the worldwide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by totalitarian Government in Europe and declares its complete sympathy with the British Government for taking up arms against Germany, which may ensure freedom of smaller and weaker nations which are now at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive dictator-ridden states and cannot unaided maintain their territorial integrity.

This Assembly therefore authorises Government to assure the Government of India full and effective co-operation for the defence of India, which will materially help the British people in the successful prosecution of the war.

This Assembly further authorises the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government that in consonance with the aims of the present war, as declared by that Government and understood by India and consistent with the declared ideal of the British Empire as a Commonwealth

of free nations and with a view to ensure confidence and inspiration among the people of India, which is so very necessary at the present juncture, the attainment by India of the Status of a Free Nation should be implemented immediately on the termination of the war, recognising the right of the people of India to frame their own constitution as a free people. The communal decision of the British Cabinet, which is not only anti-national and undemocratic but does gross injustice to the Hindu minority of Bengal and elsewhere should altogether be scratched from the constitution, and if Indians themselves feel that some sort of safeguards is necessary for the protection of minorities and interests adequate provisions will be made for them in the constitution.

This Assembly furthermore affirms that with a view to make co-operation with the British Government effective for the successful termination of the war millions of Bengalees and other Indians should be freely admitted in the army, navy and air force without delay not only as soldiers but officers of all ranks; and complete arrangement should be made for the preparation of war materials and construction of battle-ships, war-planes, etc., in India.

আজকের এই সভায় আমার বক্তব্যের প্রথম কথা হোচ্ছে এই যে য়ুরোপে যে যুদ্ধ চোল্‌ছে যাতে জার্ম্মাণী এক দিকে ইংরেজ ফরাসী এবং অন্য আর এক দিকে, সে যুদ্ধ সম্বন্ধে যে সমস্ত উচ্চ আদর্শের কথা ইংরেজ গভর্ণমেন্ট ঘোষণা কোরেছেন সে সম্বন্ধে আমি শুধু এইটুকু বোল্‌তে চাই যে পৃথিবীতে কোন গভর্ণমেন্টই উচ্চ আদর্শের জন্য যুদ্ধ কোর্‌ছে না; সকলেই যুদ্ধ কোর্‌ছে নিজ নিজ স্বার্থ রক্ষা করার জন্য এবং এ যুদ্ধ সম্বন্ধে ভারতবর্ষের যা কর্ত্তব্য সেও স্থির কোরতে হবে—শুধু ভারতবর্ষের জাতীয় স্বার্থের দিক দিয়ে। জার্ম্মাণী পোল্যাণ্ড আক্রমণ কোরেছে (A MEMBER: কোরেছে কেন, কোরে গ্রাস কোরে বোসেছে।) তার স্বার্থের জন্য। ইংরেজ যে পোল্যাণ্ড রক্ষা কোরতে চাচ্ছে সেও তার স্বার্থের জন্য; যখন আবিসিনিয়া বিপন্ন হোয়েছিলো—তখন ইংরেজ যায়নি; যখন ফিন্‌ল্যাণ্ডের উপর রাষিয়া আক্রমণ চালাচ্ছে, রাষিয়ার বিরুদ্ধে এখনো ইংরেজ যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা কোর্‌ছে না। এমন কি যে পোল্যাণ্ডকে ইংরেজ আশ্বাস দিয়েছিলো যে জাতি পোল্যাণ্ডকে আক্রমণ কোর্‌বে তার বিরুদ্ধে ইংরেজ অস্ত্র ধারণ কোর্‌বে, সেই পোল্যাণ্ড যখন পতনোন্মুখ তখন তাকে যখন রাষিয়া এসে আক্রমণ কোরে তাকে ধরাশায়ী করে বস্‌লো—তার বিরুদ্ধে ইংরেজ কোন প্রতিবাদ কোর্‌লে না। ঠিক এই ভাবে ন্যায় ও নীতি লঙ্ঘণ কোরে আবিসিনিয়ায় যখন ইটালি অভিযান চালায়েছিলো তখন ইংরেজের ন্যায় বুদ্ধি উদ্বুদ্ধ হয় নাই। বরং স্যামুয়েল হোর রাজ্য ভাগাভাগির ব্যাপার লইয়া ইটালির সঙ্গে রফা কর্ত্তে গিয়েছিল। তখন থেকে আজ পর্য্যন্ত য়ুরোপে যে যে যুদ্ধ চোলেছে এবং এশিয়ায় চীন আর জাপানে যে যুদ্ধ চোলছে তাতে কি চীনকে রক্ষা করার জন্য তারা এসে দাঁড়িয়েছে। যুদ্ধে তাদের কর্ত্তব্য মানে যেখানে যার স্পষ্ট স্বার্থ শুধু সেই স্বার্থ রক্ষা করা, এবং বর্ত্তমান যুদ্ধ সম্বন্ধে ইংরেজের যে ঘোষণা সে ঘোষণার পিছনে তাদের

কতখানি বাস্তবিকতা আছে সেটা অতীত ইতিহাস দেখ্‌লে আমরা বুঝতে পারবো। গত যুদ্ধে ইংরেজ ঘোষণা কোরেছিলো—"আমরা পৃথিবীর দুর্বল জাতিদের স্বাধীনতা রক্ষার জন্য ডিমোক্রাসিকে রক্ষা করার জন্যই যুদ্ধে নেমেছি।" তখন ভারতবর্ষ ইংরেজকে সম্পূর্ণ বিশ্বাস কোরে অপর্য্যাপ্তরূপে সৈন্য দিয়েছে, অর্থ দিয়েছে এবং সর্ব্বপ্রকার আনুকূল্য কোরেছে। ফলে যখন যুদ্ধ শেষ হলো তখন ভারতবর্ষ ইংরেজের ঘোষণার বদলে পেলে রোলাট্‌ আইন; জালিনওয়ালাবাগ। সেই অতীত অভিজ্ঞতা আমাদের ভুলে যাবার কোন হেতু নাই। কাজেই আমাদের উচ্চ ঘোষণায় উল্লসিত হওয়ার কোন কারণ নাই। এবং আমরা বেশ জানি যে ইংরেজের যদি স্বার্থ থাকে ভারতবর্ষকে রাষ্ট্রীয় স্বাধীনতা দানে তা'হলেই ভারতবর্ষকে সে রাষ্ট্রীয় স্বাধীনতা দান কোর্‌বে নৈলে ইংরাজ যে কোন মহা আদর্শে অনুপ্রাণীত হোয়ে ভারতবর্ষকে স্বাধীনতা দেবে ইংলণ্ডের ইতিহাস, এবং সঙ্গে সঙ্গে বোল্‌তে পারি যে য়ুরোপের কোন জাতির ইতিহাসেই সে কথা বলে না। আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রী মাননীয় মিঃ ফজ্‌লুল হক যে বোলেছেন যে আমাদের নিজের বাহুবলে স্বাধীনতা অর্জ্জন কোর্‌তে হবে—একথা অতি সত্য। আমাদের হিন্দু শাস্ত্রও বোলেছেন—

তল্লোকে ন চ যাচ্যতে,
ন হি পুনঃ দীনায় বা দীয়তে,
কাঙ্ক্ষাচেৎ স্বরাজ্যত্বমাপ্তুমচিরাৎ
কুর্ব্বন্তু তে সাহসম্‌।

অর্থাৎ কথা হলো এই যে স্বরাজ বস্তু কখনো ভিক্ষা কোরে পাওয়া যায় না। এবং দয়া কোরে যদি বা কেউ দেয়, তবুও শক্তি ভিন্ন সে স্বরাজ রক্ষা করা যায় না। কাজেই স্বরাজ রক্ষা কোরতে হোলে বীরের মতন সাহস অবলম্বন কোর্‌তে হবে। কিন্তু কথা হোচ্ছে সেই যে বীরত্ব সেটা কি ভারতকে অর্জ্জন কোর্‌তে হবে শুধু ইংরেজের সঙ্গে লড়াইয়ের মধ্য দিয়ে? দুপক্ষের মধ্যেই আজ এসম্বন্ধে পরিষ্কারভাবে বোঝাপড়া দরকার। আজ ইংরেজের পক্ষে ভারতের সাহায্যের যতটা প্রয়োজনীয়তা—ভারতের ততটা নয়। আজ ইংরেজের যদি পরাজয় ঘটে তাহলে ভারতের ভাগ্য ততখানি বিপর্য্যস্ত হবে না—যতখানি হবে ইংরেজের। ভারত যে তিমিরে সেই তিমিরেই থাক্‌বে—কেবল এক গোয়াল থেকে আর এক গোয়ালে যাবে-এই মাত্র। কাজেই ভারতবর্ষের যে বেশী দায় তা নয়, দায় ইংরেজেরই বেশী। ইংরেজের স্বার্থ যখন বিপন্ন হোয়ে উঠ্‌বে এবং যখন বুঝ্‌বে স্বাধীন ভারতের মৈত্রী ব্যতীত তার রক্ষা নেই তখন সে নিশ্চয়ই সে ভারতের সঙ্গে সন্ধি কোরবে।

এখন কথা হোচ্ছে এই যে আমরা যে ইংরেজের সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা কোরবো, সেটা কি শুধু মৌখিক সহযোগীতা, না যে সহযোগীতা আমাদের কাম্য সেই কার্য্যকরী সহযোগীতা? ইতিমধ্যে একদিন একটা নেটিভ ষ্টেটের রাজা বোলেছেন—"ইংরেজ আমাদের কাছে চায় টাকা আর কুলি।" শুধু টাকা আর কুলি দিয়ে কি প্রকারের সহযোগীতা হোতে পারে জানি না। যুদ্ধের সময় বেশী প্রয়োজন হোচ্ছে অস্ত্রের, সৈন্যের এবং সব চেয়ে বেশী প্রয়োজন সমগ্র জাতির শুভ

বৈশ্রীর। এই তিনটে জিনিষ সম্বন্ধে ইংরেজ আমাদের দেশে কি কারেছেন? ইংরেজ ভারতবর্ষকে শক্তিমান করার জন্য কি কোরেছেন। এবং বাঙ্গালীকে, বাংলাদেশের লোককে সৈন্য শ্রেণীভুক্ত না করার জন্য যে বিধি আছে সে বিধির অপসারণ পর্য্যন্ত আজও হয় নাই। ভারতবর্ষে যে সমস্ত শক্তিমান এবং ক্ষুত্রভাবাপন্ন ব্যক্তি আছে তাদের সেনাপতিত্ব করবার জন্য শিক্ষিত কোরে তুলে ইংরেজের বহু সুবিধা হোতে পারতো। কিন্তু ইংরেজ শক্তিমান ভারতবর্ষকে বিশ্বাস কোরতে চায় না, সে চায় দুর্ব্বল অসহায় ভারতবর্ষকে ইচ্ছামত দোহন কোরে যতটুকু সাহায্য নেওয়া যায় তাই নিবে। কিন্তু এইভাবে দোহন করা সাহায্য দ্বারা ইংরেজের প্রকৃতই কতখানি সাহায্য হবে এই যুদ্ধের পরিণতিই তা নির্দ্ধারণ কোরবে। এবং সর্ব্বোপরি এই যুদ্ধের ব্যাপারে ইংরেজের বিরুদ্ধে যে সমস্ত অভিযোগ ভারতবর্ষের এবং অন্যান্য জাতির আছে ইংরেজকে তারও জবাব দিতে হবে। আপনারা জানেন বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্যের কর্ণধার স্যামুয়েল হোর যুদ্ধ সম্বন্ধীয় ঘোষনা কোরেছেন এবং সেই ব্যাপদেশে বোলেছেন তিনি দয়া কোরে ভারতবর্ষের সাম্প্রদায়িক সিদ্ধান্ত কোরেছেন।

সে সাম্প্রদায়িক সিদ্ধান্তের ফলে হিন্দু minorityর এই বাংলাদেশে এবং আরো দু এক জায়গায় কি দশা যে হয়েছে—এই Assemblyতেই আমরা তা দেখ্‌তে পাচ্ছি। বাংলাদেশে হিন্দুর সংখ্যা ২ কোটি ১৫ লক্ষ ৪৪ জন। সেখানে অন্যান্য প্রদেশে minorityর সংখ্যানুপাতে যে প্রকার weightage যুক্ত আসন নির্দ্দিষ্ট হোয়েছে বাংলাদেশের minorityর সে প্রকার তো পায়ই নাই বরং তাদের সংখ্যানুপাতিক আসনের চেয়ে তাদের কম আসন দেওয়া হোয়েছে। মুসলমান, খৃষ্টান, এবং সর্ব্বোপরি বিদেশী ইংরেজগণকে বাংলাদেশে তাদের সুবিধা মতন যতগুলি আসন দেওয়া প্রয়োজন তা দেওয়া হোয়েছে। কিন্তু হিন্দুদের সংখ্যানুপাতে তাদের ১১০টা আসন পাওয়া উচিত ছিলো সেখানে তাদের দেওয়া হোয়েছে মাত্র ৮০টী। আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি—কোন সুবিচারের উপর এই ব্যবস্থা হোয়েছে। যখন স্যার নৃপেন্দ্র নাথ সরকার জিজ্ঞাসা কোরেছিলেন স্যার সামুয়েল হোরকে—মাত্র ৮০টী আসন যে দেওয়া হয়েছে বাংলাদেশের হিন্দুদের, সেটা কোন যুক্তি বা ব্যবস্থামূলে দেওয়া হোয়েছে? এর কোন উত্তর না দিতে পেরে স্যার সামুয়েল বোলেছিলেন দিয়েছি তো দিয়েছি, আমাদের ইচ্ছা হয়েছে দিয়েছি। তার পরে হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মধ্যে যে মিল নাই তার জন্যও প্রধানত দায়ী ইংরেজগণ আমাদের প্রধানমন্ত্রী মিঃ ফজলুল হক সাহেব বোলেছেন "আমাদের মধ্যে বিভেদ আছে বোলেই ইংরেজ আমাদের উপর কর্ত্তৃত্ব কোর্‌ছে কিন্তু একটা বিষয় প্রধানমন্ত্রীও জানেন এলাহাবাদে হিন্দু-মুসলমান নেতাদের যে বৈঠক পণ্ডিত মালব্যের সভাপতিত্বে হোয়েছিলো সেই বৈঠকে যে দিল ঠিক হয়েছিলো মুসলমানগণ কেন্দ্রীয় Assemblyতে শতকরা ৩২টী আসন পাবে সেই সংবাদ টেলিগ্রামে বৃটিশ ক্যাবিনেটে পৌঁছার সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই সেখান থেকে ঘোষণা করা হয়েছিলো শতকরা ৩৩·৩টী আসন দেওয়া হবে। এবং অতিরিক্ত সুবিধা পেয়ে মুসলমান আর হিন্দুর সঙ্গে মিল কর্ত্তে আসবে কেন? আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি তার স্যামুয়েল হোরকে, হিন্দু-মুসলমানকে সেই যে ভাগ কোরে

দেওয়া হলো সেই আসল মিলনটা পণ্ড কোরে—সেটা কি উচ্চ আদর্শে উদ্বুদ্ধ হোয়ে' করা হয়েছিলো? আমি প্রধানমন্ত্রীকে জিজ্ঞাসা করি,—সেটা কি আমাদের মধ্যে ভেদ ছিলো বোলেই কোরেছিলো না আমাদের মধ্যে ভেদ সৃষ্টি কোরে তাদের সুবিধা মতন শাসন চালাবার জন্য কোরেছিলো এবং আমরা জানি ১৯০৫ খৃষ্টাব্দ থেকে যখনই স্বাধীনতার কথা উঠেছে—একথা লর্ড মর্লে'ও স্বীকার কোরেছেন যে মুসলমানদের যে দাবী পৃথক হবার তা মহম্মদ আলীর ভাষায় command performance মাত্র ছিল। এর পেছনে প্রকৃতই প্রথমতঃ মুসলমানদের কোন দাবী ছিলো না, তিনি আরো বোলেছেন যে আমরা আগা খাঁকে বোলেছিলাম—"তোমরা পৃথকভাবে দাবী কর।" লক্ষ্ণৌ প্যাক্টে হিন্দু-মুসলমান মিলিত হতে পেরেছিল, কারণ তখন যুদ্ধে ব্যস্ত ইংরেজ সে ব্যাপারে হাত দেয় নি। কিন্তু যুদ্ধের পর আবার তাদের খেলা চলতে লাগল। এই রকমভাবে ভারতবর্ষকে খণ্ড বিখণ্ড কোরতে ইংরেজ যে চালবাজী চালিয়েছে, বিভিন্ন শ্রেণীর মধ্যে যে বিবাদ ঘনিয়ে দিয়েছে এবং তারি ফলে সমস্যা আরো জটিল কোরে তুলেছে একথা আজ আর কারো অজানা নাই। কথা হোচ্ছে এই যে, এরি কোরে জাতিতে জাতিতে এবং সম্প্রদায়ে সম্প্রদায়ে যে বিবাদ অনায়াসে সৃষ্টি করা যায়, সে বিবাদ মিটানো সহজ হয় না। অবস্থা আজ এরি হোয়ে পোড়েছে হিন্দু আজ মুসলমানকে বিশ্বাস কোরতে চায় না, মুসলমান হিন্দুকে বিশ্বাস কোরতে চায় না, সিয়া মুসলমান সুন্নী মুসলমানকে বিশ্বাস কর্ত্তে চায় না, মোমিন শরিফ মুসলমানকে বিশ্বাস করে না। এই যে পরস্পরের মধ্যে অবিশ্বাস, এই অবিশ্বাসের অন্ধকার দূর হবে ভারতবর্ষে যেদিন স্বাধীনতার আলোকে উদ্ভাসিত হোয়ে উঠবে—সেদিন আমরা দেখবো এই ভারতবর্ষের হিন্দু-মুসলমান, বৌদ্ধ, খৃষ্টান, শিখ সকলে মিলে একটা সঙ্ঘবদ্ধ সুসংহত জাতিরূপে দাঁড়িয়েছে। সেদিন সমগ্র ভারতবর্ষে হিন্দু-মুসলমানের বিভেদ ভুলে একটী মাত্র ভারতীয় জাতি ভারতীয়ভাবে উদ্বুদ্ধ হোয়ে ভারতের রাষ্ট্রের মঙ্গল, শিল্প-বাণিজ্য ও অর্থনীতির মঙ্গল সাধন কোরে সমগ্র জগতের মধ্যে ভারতকে গৌরবের আসনে প্রতিষ্ঠিত করার জন্য বদ্ধপরিকর হবে। কাজেই আজ সমস্ত সমস্যা সমাধানের মূলে হোচ্ছে এই কথা ঘোষণা করা যে, ভারতবর্ষ স্বাধীন হবে। যেদিন স্বাধীন ভারতবর্ষে সকলে মিলে একত্র হোয়ে বোসবো, পরাধীনতার অন্ধকারে আজও যে সমস্ত প্রশ্ন আমাদের কাছে দুরূহ ঠেকছে, যে সমস্ত সমস্যা আমাদের দুর্লঙ্ঘ্য বোলে মনে হচ্ছে যা কিছু আমাদের চোখে আজ ভয়াবহ বোলে বোধ হোচ্ছে সূর্য্যালোকে স্বাধীনতার মধ্যে সে সবগুলিই অতি সহজ ও নগণ্য বোলে মনে হবে। সন্দেহ, অবিশ্বাস আপনি দূর হয়ে যাবো সেই জন্য আমি আমার amendmentএর ভিতর দিয়েছি যে ভারতবাসীর মনে এই বিশ্বাস নিশ্চিতরূপে হোতে দেওয়া দরকার—যে তাদের স্বাধীন জাতি বোলে মনে করা হবে। তখন minority রক্ষা করার কথা minorityরাই হয়ত তুলবে না, আর যদি কিছু করা প্রয়োজনীয় মনে হয় সেটা ভারতবাসীরা নিজেরাই কোরবে।

সবশেষে এক্‌টা কথা বোলে আমার বক্তব্য শেষ কোর্‌ছি। পৃথিবীতে যে কোন জাতি হোক না কেন যদি তার মধ্যে কাজ ও শক্তি উদ্বুদ্ধ না হয় যদি তার নিজের দেশকে রক্ষা করার যোগ্যতা তার না জন্মে তাহলে তাকে অধিকার দেওয়া না দেওয়া—একই কথা। আজ যদি ইংরেজ বলে আমরা ভারতবর্ষকে স্বাধীন কোর্‌ছি, কিন্তু ভারতবর্ষকে সামরিক শক্তিতে গোড়ে তুল্‌বো না, আর কালই যদি ইংরেজের সামরিক শক্তি পর্য্যদস্ত হয়, তাহলে ভারতবাসীর সে স্বাধীনতা পাওয়া না পাওয়া সমান। কাজেই অধিকার পাওয়ার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে আমাদের শক্তিলাভ করা একান্ত প্রয়োজন। ভারতবর্ষ একই সঙ্গে সামরিক শিক্ষার স্থলে অন্তরীক্ষে ও নৌবিভাগে সম্পূর্ণরূপে পারিদর্শী হোয়ে উঠুক এবং সকল বিভাগেই ভারতবাসীদের ভিতর থেকে সৈন্য ও সেনাপতি গোড়ে উঠুক। এবং ইংরেজ ভারতবর্ষ রক্ষার ভার ভারতবাসীকে দিয়ে দিক তাহলে ইংরেজ নিশ্চিন্ত হোয়ে জার্ম্মেণীর সঙ্গে ইয়ুরোপে যুদ্ধ কোর্‌তে পার্‌বে এবং যুদ্ধে জয়লাভও তাদের পক্ষে সহজ হবে। এই সঙ্গে আমার আর একটা বক্তব্য এই—Sir, আর দু মিনিট।

(Here the member, having reached his time-limit, resumed his seat.)

Adjournment.

It being 8-45—

The House was adjourned till 4-45 p.m. on Thursday, the 14th December, 1939, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 14th December, 1939, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 219 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Witness shed at Kishoreganj.

*75. **Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL:** (a) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial and Legislative Department aware of the inconvenience caused to the litigant public for want of a witness shed at Kishoreganj?

(b) If so, do the Government contemplate for the construction of a witness shed at Kishoreganj?

MINISTER in charge of the JUDICIAL and LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENTS (the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur): (a) and (b) Yes.

Maulvi MD. ISRAIL: In view of the fact that new buildings in Kishoreganj would be constructed, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the construction of the witness shed would be taken up next year?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: Yes, Sir.

Substitution of "Poundra Kshatriya" for "Pod".

*76. **Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI:** (a) With reference to the reply given to (a) to (c) of starred question No. 356 on the 20th April, 1939, will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be

pleased to state whether any reply has been obtained by the Bengal Government to its representation to His Majesty's Government through the Government of India?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased—

(*i*) to lay on the table a copy of it; and

(*ii*) to state what action, if any, has been taken on it?

(*c*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the table—

(*i*) a copy of the representation made by the Bengal Government to His Majesty's Government; and

(*ii*) a copy of the Government of India's note on it, if any?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) The matter is still under consideration and I am unable to give the information asked for at this stage.

(*c*) Does not arise.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: With reference to (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state under whose consideration the matter is now?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I think with the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

Mr. RASIKLAL BISWAS: মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দয়া করে জানাবেন কি যে Bengal Government এ সম্বন্ধে কোন opinion দিয়াছেন কি না?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Certainly.

Mr. RASIKLAL BISWAS: যদি opinion দিয়ে থাকেন তাহা হইলে কি opinion তাহার উপর দিয়েছেন?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Well, Sir, I do not think it is proper at this stage to reveal that.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he had received any reply from the Government of India?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, the Government of Bengal have received a reply, but as the matter is still under consideration, I do not think it proper to disclose it now.

Mr. RASIKLAL BISWAS: মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দয়া করে বোলবেন কি Government-এর replyটার মর্ম্ম কি? ব্যাপারটা খুলেই বলুন না?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: As I have already said, Sir, that as the matter is still under consideration, I do not think it advisable to disclose anything now.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when he is likely to give us that information?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: When the final decision is reached.

Appointment of Director of Civil Veterinary Department.

***77. Rai Bahadur JOGESH CHANDRA SEN:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to state the circumstances under which a young Muslim officer from the Central Provinces has been appointed as Deputy Director and is now holding the post of officiating Director, Civil Veterinary Department, Bengal?

(*b*) What are the qualifications of that officer?

(*c*) What was his experience in administrative or teaching work before he was appointed in this Province?

(*d*) Was any Bengalee candidate with superior experience and qualification, an applicant for the post to which the said officer was recruited?

(*e*) Has the claim of any Hindu officer been superseded in course of the officiating arrangements?

(*f*) Was the Public Service Commission consulted in determining the seniority of this officer and in regard to the officiating arrangement?

(*g*) Did the said officer appear before the Medical Board in accordance with rule V (4) and VIII (1) (*a*) of the Bengal Provincial Services Recruitment Rules?

(*h*) Did he sit for Departmental Examination in Accounts under rule 1 of the Rules for the Departmental Examination of Officers of the Provincial Veterinary Service?

MINISTER in charge of PUBLIC HEALTH, MEDICAL, AGRICULTURE and VETERINARY DEPARTMENTS (the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan): (*a*) In view of the fact that both the senior Indian Veterinary Service officers holding the posts of the Director, Civil Veterinary Department, and the Principal, Bengal Veterinary College, were due to retire in the course of a few years, it became necessary to appoint an officer with high technical qualification and train him up so as to enable him to fill up the place of one of the Indian Veterinary Service officers when he retired. The post of Deputy Director was created with that end in view. The intention was that he should understudy the Director and should officiate in his place whenever he went on leave. It was further decided that, in view of the paucity of Muslims in higher posts in the department, preference should be given to a suitable Muslim if available. The post was advertised by the Public Service Commission and they recommended a Muslim candidate as the most suitable of all the candidates available on the terms offered. This led to the appointment of Mr. Syed Mohammad Ali as Deputy Director, Civil Veterinary Department. When Mr. P. J. Kerr, I.V.S., the Director, Civil Veterinary Department, went on deputation to the Government of India Mr. Mohammad Ali was naturally appointed to officiate in his place. Mr. Kerr has since gone on leave preparatory to retirement from his post under the Government of India and Mr. Mohammad Ali continues to officiate as Director.

(*b*) He is a B.Sc. and holds the diploma of M.R.C.V.S., London, with first class honours in most of the subjects.

(*c*) He had been Assistant Director, Civil Veterinary Department in the Central Provinces and Berar, for 4½ years. He was also in charge of the Research Laboratory and published some papers.

(*d*) There were no Bengalee candidates with superior experience and qualifications. There was one Bengalee candidate with similar academic qualifications, *viz.*, B.Sc. and M.R.C.V.S. but he had no experience of district work having been exclusively engaged on research work. As the work of the Deputy Director entails supervision of the actual district work throughout the Province preference was given to a man with experience in that line. Moreover, the application of the Bengalee candidate referred to was conditional on his being given a starting pay, equivalent to that which he was already drawing in a research post under the Government of India, which this Government was not in a position to offer.

(*e*) No.

(*f*) The Deputy Director on appointment was given the stage in the time-scale for the Bengal Higher Veterinary Service recommended for him by the Public Service Commission. It is not necessary to consult the Public Service Commission in regard to officiating arrangements.

(*g*) The officer had already been appointed to Government service in the Central Provinces and Berar after a medical test of fitness for Government service.

(*h*) He had already passed the Departmental Examination in Accounts in the Central Provinces and Berar which is the same as that in Bengal.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*a*) was there any direction given to the Public Service Commission that a Muslim candidate should be taken even if a Muslim from Bengal was not available?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I do not know, Sir.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the subjects in which first class honours are held by this gentleman?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I want notice, Sir.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*c*) will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the Officer concerned has had any teaching experience or any experience of research work?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I do not know how the question of teaching experience at all arises here.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Experience is the term that has been used in the answer. With reference to question (*d*), viz., "was any Bengalee candidate with superior experience and qualification, etc.," the answer is that "there were no Bengalee candidates with superior experience and qualifications;" may I know the number of years in the Veterinary Department of Bihar and Central Provinces, respectively, combined with the work in Bengal that were put in by the Bengalee candidate concerned as compared by the candidate selected by the Public Service Commission?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, if superior experience and qualifications are concerned, there was no Bengalee candidate who was better than the candidate selected.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: That is exactly what I wanted to know. Superior experience can be judged by the number of years of work put in. May I know the actual number of years of work of the two respective candidates?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what experience the gentleman selected has in the Province of Bengal and whether that gentleman knows the language of this Province?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I do not think, Sir, he had previous experience of Bengal, but knows the language of the Province.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: He knows the language of the Province. Was there any test taken of his knowledge of the Bengalee language?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I do not know, Sir.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*e*)—"No" to the question (*c*), viz., "has the claim of any Hindu Officer been superseded in course of the officiating arrangements", will the Hon'ble Minister please state if he is aware that there was one Hindu officer who was superior to him in the cadre of superior service in the Veterinary Department?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: No, Sir.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether, as was drawn attention to yesterday, there were two other officers both of longer service as well as on a higher scale of salary and period of work in the Bengal Superior Veterinary Service or not?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I was almost misled yesterday by the hon'ble friend's question of fact of which he seemed to be so very confident. So far as one of those officers referred to is concerned, namely, Mr. Sinha, he does not belong to the same service at all. He belongs to the lower service and was officiating in the higher service, and hence so far as he is concerned, no question of comparison arises at all. As regards the other person—the present officer—who has been appointed, was found to be superior to him in every respect.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: What are the respects please?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: His record, experience and qualifications.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Regarding the questions (g) and (h), medical examination and fitness and accounts fitness, is it not required under the rules of this Government, whether one belongs to a service of another province or not, that means, he has to submit again in the provincial test?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: No, Sir, it is not required.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that Hindu officers that had been recruited for similar work from outside had to submit to the medical and accounts examinations in this province over again?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: In the Veterinary Department?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Yes, Sir.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I do not know that at all.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that only in this case this requirement was waived and in all other cases, officers joining Government Departments, either Veterinary or other Departments, these two tests are almost incumbent?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am afraid your question is not in order. You cannot ask questions about other Departments. You can ask only about the Veterinary Department.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware of any other instance than this particular instance in which the Medical and Accounts Examinations required by the rules of this Government had been waived?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, no question of the waiving of the rules arises here. My point is that the rules do not require that if an officer is appointed in another province and has been medically examined there, he is to be submitted to another medical examination if appointed in any other province. My friend is now asking questions about other cases in which an officer might have been

required to submit to medical examination even though he had been serving in some other province. I think my friend is not correct, but without looking into the matter further I cannot give a definite reply.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the officer selected was given exemption because he was too fat to stand the medical test?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Present condition of Daulatpur Agricultural Institute.

*78. **Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture (Veterinary) Department be pleased to state whether any representation has been received by the Government or the Director of Agriculture regarding the present condition of the Daulatpur Agricultural Institute?

(*b*) Is it a fact that the Institution has failed to attract any student in the 1st year class this year?

(*c*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason therefor?

(*d*) Have the promises of Government regarding this Institute and its farms been complied with in due time? If not, why not?

(*e*) What is the total amount spent or advanced by Government on account of this Institution up to 31st October, 1939?

(*f*) Are the Government considering the desirability of taking over the management of the Institution?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*) No.

(*b*) Thirteen students joined the Institute in the beginning of the session but they dropped off one by one.

(*c*) The students represented to the Governing Body and the Director of Agriculture that they were not willing to continue their studies in the Institution unless they were given (*i*) diplomas or degrees on passing the final examination, and (*ii*) assurance of employment under Government or of the grant of land and capital for starting farms on their own account. As the object of starting this Institute was to give practical agricultural training to young men so as to enable them to start agricultural enterprises of their own or find employment in private zamindari estates, it was not possible to accede to their request either for diplomas or degrees or for assurance of employment under Government. Government also could not undertake

to provide the passed students of the Institute with land and capital as the Institute is a private institution run on grant-in-aid basis in respect of which Government have not undertaken any liability beyond providing the entire initial capital expenditure and meeting the deficit in respect of recurring expenditure up to a limit of Rs. 4,000 per annum.

(*d*) Government made no promises beyond undertaking the liabilities referred to under (*c*) above which they have so far discharged fully and in good time. The local committee however started the Institute before the construction of the buildings and lay out of the farm could be completed in spite of the advice of the Department not to rush things.

(*e*) Government have already spent about Rs. 2,70,000 on buildings, lay out and the purchase of implements and livestock, etc. In addition they advanced Rs. 4,794 for running expenditure during 1937-38 the whole of which was subsequently adjusted as Government grant and they advanced Rs. 6,880 towards running expenditure during 1938-39 out of which Rs. 4,000 was adjusted as Government grant. A further advance of Rs. 10,632 has just been sanctioned for the current year after a review of the working and financial position of the Institute.

(*f*) No.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: In view of the long statement given, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of reviewing the position either by himself or through his Secretary to see that the usefulness of the Institute may be increased?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, the matter has been very carefully considered and I do not think that the question of review can arise.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: In view of the fact that Rs. 3,00,000 has been spent and another Rs. 4,000 per year is committed, does the Government consider the desirability of appointing a Committee to see that the funds of the Institute are properly utilized and students may be forthcoming?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: No, Sir.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the defects or what are the drawbacks of the Institute for which Government cannot grant diploma to the students of this Institute?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, the Institute was started on certain definite understandings. Therefore, Government is not now prepared to go beyond those understandings.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the curriculum of the Institute was fixed by or with the approval of the Director of the Agriculture Department?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Director of Agriculture is a member of the Governing Body?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the District Magistrate of Khulna is the Chairman of the Governing Body of the College?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, my friend seems to know better than me.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: In view of the large amount of money spent on the College, will the Government consider the desirability of taking over the Institute?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I have said that Government cannot take over the Institute. Government have spent a good deal of money. It may have been unwise on the part of Government to accede to the local demand. Now it appears the local people are not enthusiastic to patronise the institution as was originally expected.

(Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal rose in his seat.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, may I request you to kindly remember that there are 250 members?

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: With reference to the answers given in (*e*) and (*f*) that Government could not undertake to provide the passed students of the Institute with land and capital, and if Government do not consider the desirability of taking over the management of the Institute, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the reason for Government to grant another sum of Rs. 10,632 for this Institute?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Because, Sir, unless Government did that there would have been more virulent questions.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Sir, is that an answer to my question? I want a definite answer from the Minister in charge.

Mr. SPEAKER: I thought that was a confession on the part of the Minister.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that because no diploma whatsoever is being given to the students, the students are leaving the College one by one.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I have nothing further to add to what I have already stated on the point.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when there were no students in the School what was the necessity of making a further grant to this School?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I think the question of grant being continued in future will have to be seriously considered. But Government is anxious that the Institute may yet make an attempt to live and that is why Government has been helping it till now.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there is any possibility of admission of any further students in view of the statement made by Government that Government could not undertake to provide passed students with capital or land?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a question of opinion.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the total number of students in the first year, there was no student in the other two years?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state by what time the Public Works Department work for laying out the farm land would be completed?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Very soon, I think, Sir. I cannot give any definite date.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he will consider the desirability of giving a stipend to each student of the College?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: No, Sir.

Irrigation in Damodar Canal areas.

*79. **Mr. ADWAITA KUMAR MAJI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works (Irrigation) Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) how many acres of land in the Damodar Canal area were irrigated last year;

(*ii*) what was the rate per acre;

(*iii*) the total amount required for maintaining the office;

(*iv*) what is the minimum rate per acre as declared by Government; and

(*v*) what is the reason for crop-cutting of the cultivated soil without informing the people of the area?

(*b*) Is it in the contemplation of Government to modify and improve some existing defects in the rules for supplying water in due time?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMUNICATIONS and WORKS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Maharaja Srischandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar): (*a*) (*i*) (*ii*) and (*iii*) The hon'ble member is referred to the reply which I gave on the 24th May, 1939, to his starred question No. 466.

(*iv*) and (*v*) Attention is invited to the communique on the subject published in the *Statesman*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and other newspapers on the 3rd November, 1939, a copy of which is placed on the Library table.

(*b*) Endeavour will certainly be made to remedy any defects which may come to light.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the Government has any remedy under contemplation in view of the report of the Damodar Enquiry Committee?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I may state that Government came to the decision in this matter after full consideration of the report of the Enquiry Committee.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if there were any defects pointed out in that report?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: No, Sir.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Appointment of pleaders on behalf of Court of Wards, Chittagong.

26. **Dr. SANAULLAH:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state the number of pleaders engaged to conduct suits or cases on behalf of the Court of Wards, Chittagong?

(*b*) Is there a panel of pleaders maintained by the local authorities for the purpose of conducting civil suits and criminal cases on behalf of the Court of Wards, Chittagong?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many Muslim pleaders are included in the said panel?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing—

(*i*) the names;

(*ii*) educational qualifications; and

(*iii*) the period of their respective practices in the Bar?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) 17 (9 for mufassal and 8 for Sadar).

(*b*) Yes, a panel of 8 pleaders is maintained for conducting cases in the Sadar Courts.

(*c*) One.

(*d*) A statement is laid on the table.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (d) of unstarred question No. 26.

	Name.	Educational qualification.	Period of practice in the Bar.
1.	Babu Tarak Chandra Chowdhury	B.L.	From 1907.
2.	Babu Kali Sankar Datta	Passed Pleadership Examination.	From 1895.
3.	Babu Chandra Mohan Chakraborty	B.L.	From 1923.
4.	Maulvi Sultan Ahmed	B.L.	From 1929.
5.	Babu Jadunath Chakraborty	B.L.	From 1926.
6.	Rai Sahib Jnanada Ranjan Datta	M.A., B.L.	From 1919.
7.	Babu Purna Chandra Das	B.L.	From 1920.
8.	Babu Sushil Kumar Chowdhury	M.A., B.L.	From 1929.

Scientific method of agriculture and agricultural training in Bengal.

27. Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department aware—

(*i*) that there is no proper system of agriculture based on scientific method and improved irrigation in Bengal; and

(*ii*) that proper teaching and training cannot be obtained at present but outside the Province of Bengal?

(*b*) If so, do the Government contemplate starting a first grade Agricultural College somewhere in Bengal for the proper education on such a vitally important subject as Agriculture?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*) I am aware that the system of agriculture generally practised in Bengal is very far from being up to date and scientific in its methods including its methods of irrigation. I am grateful to the member for this opportunity of emphasising what has in the past been one of the principal obstacles to progress in this respect, namely, the very inadequate number of trained staff to carry to the cultivator by demonstration and propaganda the benefit of the improvement in scientific methods evolved by the

department in its research and experimental stations. This has been a very real handicap and one which the present Ministry immediately set itself the task of remedying. I would also like to take this opportunity of drawing attention to another very serious obstacle to the more general adoption of modern scientific methods and that is the widespread fragmentation of agricultural holdings. This is a most difficult problem for which no easy or speedy remedy can be found. I have not, however, given up my efforts to find some practical solution of this problem—even if it be only a partial one.

(*b*) One of the first acts of the present Ministry was to inaugurate a scheme for an Agricultural Institute at Dacca for the purpose of furnishing in Bengal a first class higher training in agriculture—at least equal to that available anywhere in India. That scheme has made good progress and I hope that the Institute will soon be open. The authorities of the Dacca University with which the Institute will co-operate have arranged that successful students of the Institute will be eligible for the degrees of B.Sc. (Agri.) and B.Sc. (Animal Husbandry) of that University.

In addition to this first class Institute for higher training, I am also proposing to increase the number of Agricultural Secondary Schools for the training of demonstrators and other essential subordinate staff in the department. Next year I hope to make a start in this direction by opening a Government Secondary Agricultural School at Chinsura.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*a*), viz., "very inadequate number of trained staff to carry to the cultivator by demonstration and propaganda..... ..." will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps have been taken to make full use of agricultural institutes in the province so that trained staff may be made available?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Government has already fully utilised the trained staff available in the agricultural colleges and is also desirous to make use of the trained staff of non-Government schools.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he will be prepared to utilise the services of students passed or trained from the Daulatpur Agricultural Institute for this kind of administrative and propaganda work?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I do not know if that will be practicable according to the present curriculum of the College.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he will examine the curriculum and suitably alter it?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN: Yes.

Pumping machine demonstration.

28. Maulana MD. MANIRUZZAMAN ISLAMABADI: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that some pumping machines are kept in reserve by the Chief Engineer of the Agriculture Department for the purpose of demonstration of new irrigation methods?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of sending out a Pumping Machine Demonstration Party to Chittagong to work under the direction of the local M.L.A.'s for public purposes?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*) There is only one irrigation plant capable of delivering 30,000 gallons of water per hour which can be lent out for local demonstration on the fulfilment of certain conditions. It would, however, not be economical to irrigate less than 300 *bighas* with this plant. The plant is most suitable for irrigating an area of 300 acres, *i.e.*, nearly 900 *bighas*. Besides it is suitable for irrigating only crops like sugarcane, flax, tobacco, jute, *aus* paddy and *rabi* crops and is not suitable for irrigating *aman* or *boro* paddies which require a large volume of water

(*b*) The plant was offered to different people in Chittagong but none were willing to fulfil the conditions on which the plant can be lent.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of modifying the condition?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: That question can be considered.

Contributions from Road Development Fund of India Government to Bengal.

29. **Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the total amount of money the Local Government received from the Road Development Fund of the Government of India since the creation of the Road Development Fund up to the 30th November, 1939; and

(*ii*) the total amount spent up to the 30th November, 1939, for the purposes of road development in Bengal, together with the figures of the different amounts spent in the different districts?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether his department has prepared a list of the roads to be developed within the the current and the next winter seasons?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing, district by district, the roads which have been included in that list?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any amount of the Road Development Fund due to the Local Government has been held up by the Government of India?

(*e*) If so, what are the reasons therefor?

(*f*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Local Government have laid down any policy according to which selection is made of the roads to be developed every year?

(*g*) If so, what is that policy and who guides it?

(*h*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the District Boards are consulted in the matter of selection of roads for development in the different districts? If not, why not?

(*i*) If the answer to (*h*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the names of the roads recommended by the District Board of Faridpur for development in order of priority?

(*j*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the road, the first in order as recommended by the District Board of Faridpur, is likely to be developed?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: (*a*) (*i*) Rs. 1,10,50,000.

(*ii*) Rs. 1,08,06,481 up to October, 1939:—

		Rs.
24-Parganas	...	23,62,599
Jessore	...	13,41,616
Nadia	...	2,51,650
Murshidabad	...	4,629
Howrah	...	1,23,168
Hooghly	...	9,59,721
Burdwan	...	10,49,360
Birbhum	...	1,559
Midnapore	...	80,654
Chittagong	...	4,12,051
Tippera	...	8,01,811
Noakhali	...	126
Dacca	...	5,51,337
Mymensingh	...	6,70,207
Jalpaiguri	...	19,036
Dinajpur	...	3,404
Darjeeling	...	10,63,155
Pabna	...	9,46,763
		1,06,42,846
Pay of Special Officer, Road Fund Works, and his staff, cost of Tools and Plants, etc.	...	1,63,635
Total	...	1,08,06,481

(*b*) and (*c*) So far as the current year is concerned, attention is invited to pages 30-33 and 64-67 of the Provincial Civil Works Budget for 1939-40. A list of projects which it is proposed to take up next year will appear in the estimates which will be presented to the Legislature in due course.

(*d*) and (*e*) Yes; a sum of about Rs. 31,39,000 representing the allocations made to this Province during 1937-38 and 1938-39 is held by the Government of India at the credit of the Provincial Government who had an adequate balance for their immediate requirements. That balance is now early exhausted and the Government of India have been asked to place at our disposal for expenditure during the current year Rs. 10,80,000 of the amount which they hold on our behalf.

Attention is invited to the statement which I made in this House
e 23rd March last in the course of the debate on the demand for
s for Civil Works.

Government, who have the benefit of the advice of the Provincial
of Communications.

) and (*i*) A reference is invited to Chapter XXII of Volume IV
. King's Report, copies of which have been sent to all members
Legislature.

As advised by the Provincial Board of Communications I propose
commend to the Government of India that the Faridpur-Bhanga
should be improved at the expense of the Road Fund, if I am
ed that the project is not likely to be prejudicial to agriculture
he health of the public. I cannot say when work is likely to be
until provision is made in the estimates and funds are voted for
urpose.

r. **SURENDRA NATH BISWAS:** With reference to (*d*) and
ill the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons why only
,08,06,481 out of Rs. 1,10,50,000 has been spent and why the
e lying to the credit of the Provincial Government has not been
?

e **Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:**
state for the information of the House that when I took over
e there was a balance of Rs. 42,00,000 and during the first year
ent about Rs. 12 lakhs, in the second year we paid Rs. 22 lakhs
his year we propose to spend very nearly Rs. 30 lakhs. So the
ulation did not take place in our time. The reason for the
ulation was that some of the schemes were kept suspended pending
bmission of the report by the Special Officer. Now that the report
een received we are proposing to spend up to the maximum work-
apacity of the present staff.

bu **PREMHARI BARMA:** Will the Hon'ble Minister be
d to state on what principle the amount was allotted to each
t?

e **Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:**
igures which have been given in my reply dates from the incep-
f the fund. The principle which we are now following in allotting
projects for different districts was stated before this House during
st budget session. We are trying to distribute the amount equit-
the various districts according to their need. Our difficulty has

been that in the past some of the districts have got quite large sums of money, and so it will take some time before other districts would reach near those figures.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there has been equitable distribution of money between Noakhali, Dacca, Murshidabad, Burdwan and Midnapore and do they compare equitably?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: As I have already said, we are not responsible for this distribution. We are now trying to distribute the money as equitably as possible under the present circumstance.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that the Faridpur-Banka Road is an old road existing more or less for 50 years and it has never been agriculturally helped and why no money has been given for the development of this road although there is enough money?

Mr. SPEAKER: How does this question arise?

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Sir, the question arises out of answers (*d*) and (*e*). It is said there that only Rs. 10 lakhs have been demanded out of Rs. 31,39,000 and the balance is lying in deposit. That being so, how is it that the Faridpur-Banka road which stands first in order of priority according to Mr. King's report has not been taken up?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Sir, I want to disabuse the idea of my friend that there is a large sum of accumulated money we are not spending sufficiently. I would like to state that the total amount of work in progress amounts to over a crore and half and the schemes which have been approved by the Government of India and pending execution come to nearly Rs. 90 lakhs. As regards the particular road in question I may remind my friend Mr. Biswas that it was only last year that the scheme was ready after Mr. King, the Special Officer, submitted his report and in consultation with the Board of Communication we are sending up the scheme in question to the Government for their approval.

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state on what particular project such a huge sum as Rs. 126 was spent on Noakhali out of the Road Development Fund?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I am afraid it must have been on some sort of survey work although I am not quite sure about it. I want notice to answer that question.

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if there is any project for the development of the roads in Noakhali in the current year?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Sir, I know there are several districts where practically no money has been spent from this Fund. I may further state that the annual subvention which we get from the Government of India comes to little over Rs. 15 lakhs only and it would not be possible to take up projects in all the districts at the same time. So I believe we will have to take up groups of districts by rotation.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the position of the Barisal-Faridpur Road which was approved last year?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: In view of the reply of the Hon'ble Minister that allotment has been made according to the needs of the districts, may I know who has estimated the scheme for Chittagong? Is it the Government or the local officers?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I would refer the honourable member to my answers (*h*) and (*i*).

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of the Hon'ble Minister's answer that funds have been distributed according to the needs of the districts, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what were the factors that were considered in determining the needs, particularly those factors that were considered in the case of Dinajpore?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Sir, I may correct my hon'ble friend? I did not say——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Questions are over.

(The House was then adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(*After adjournment.*)

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I draw your attention to rule 23 of our Assembly Procedure Rules relating to questions in which it is stated that the first hour of every meeting "shall be" available for the asking of and answering of questions? In view of this, Sir, may I seek revision of your previous statement and request that you would kindly permit us to complete our supplementary questions some of which were very vital and have been held over?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, I do not mind it.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state in view of the inequality of distribution as shown in answer (*a*)(*ii*), district by district, if Government considers the desirability to postpone additional new works in such districts as have already got large sums provided for, until and unless the other districts where funds have not so been provided come up to the required minimum?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Sir, my hon'ble friend knows it very well that it may be that in a particular district there is a scheme approved by the Government of India whereas in another district where the amount already spent is small, there may not be a scheme sanctioned by the Government of India and even if we postpone the other scheme already sanctioned, it would not help the other districts to have their works taken up at once.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the Bengal Government will consider the desirability of not forwarding to the Government of India for further approval schemes belonging to such districts where already large sums of money have been allotted until and unless the other districts have got some fair distribution of the fund?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: As I have already said, the schemes are approved by the Advisory Board of Communication and it is according to their recommendation that Government decide the schemes which are to be submitted to the Government of India for their sanction. I am afraid, no hard and fast rule as suggested by my friend can be adopted.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government is considering the desirability of taking up first preference schemes of every district as reported by Mr. King first of all before any other schemes either relating to this district or other districts can be taken up?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I agree. Government consider it desirable that they should take up the schemes which have been given the first place for each district by the Special Officer, but it is not always possible to follow that practice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of his answer that the funds were distributed according to the needs of the district, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the factors which are considered in ascertaining the needs of a district, particularly what were the factors in regard to Dinajpur?

Mr. SPEAKER: Dinajpur does not arise. The first part does.

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: The Special Officer toured all the districts and in consultation with the District Boards and the Collectors of the districts, schemes were formulated. I believe he took all the factors into consideration which are needed to draw up schemes of that nature.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: What are the factors I want to know?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question has already been answered.

The War Resolution.

[The discussion on the War Resolution was resumed.]

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: I beg to move that paragraph 1 of the Resolution be amended as follows:—

(*a*) Put "Imperialistic and" before totalitarian.

(*b*) The words "and outside" be inserted between the words "in" and "Europe".

(*c*) Add "and Dependencies" after "nation".

(*d*) Add "and express its complete disapproval of the manner in which India has been made a participant in the war against her consent" after dependencies.

(*e*) Delete "which are now at the mercy of.....territorial integrity."

Paragraph 1 after amendment would read as follows:—

This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by the Imperialistic and totalitarian Governments in and outside Europe against the smaller nations and dependencies; and declares its sympathy with the British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in the defence of democracy and of the right of self-determination of smaller and weaker nations and expresses its complete disapproval of the manner in which India has been made a participant in the war against her consent.

For paragraphs 2 and 3 of the original resolution substitute the following:—

This Assembly therefore recommends to the Government to convey to the Government of India and through them to the British Government that in consonance with the professed aims of the present war it is essential in order to secure the co-operation of the Indian people that principles of democracy and freedom should forthwith be applied to India and her policy should be guided by her people and that India should be recognised as an independent nation entitled to frame her own constitution through a Constituent Assembly to be elected on Universal adult franchise with sufficient and effective safeguards for the recognised minorities and their interests; and further that suitable action should be taken in so far as it is possible in the immediate present to give effect to that principle in regard to the present governance of India.

Sir, so far as this House is concerned, perhaps we have not discussed in this House any more vital resolution affecting the vital interests of the nation than the one we discussed yesterday and we are discussing this afternoon. It is well-nigh four months that war was declared in Europe. Already one country has lost its independence and the vital interests of other countries have been crippled during the pendency of the war even within such a short time. The brave Poles in spite of the stubborn resistance could not withstand the heavy onslaught of the German invasion, and Poland has been partitioned between Germany and Russia within a few days of the German invasion of Poland. Great Britain and France declared war against Germany. The British Premier stated the general war aims of the British Government as follows:—

"We are seeking no material advantage for ourselves; we are aiming only at victory for laying the foundation of a better

international system which will mean that war will not be the inevitable lot of the succeeding generations. We are looking to the peace of Europe, longing for peace, but it must be a real and settled peace not frequently interrupted by constant alarms and threats."

Sir, it has been said also that Great Britain has drawn the sword in defence of freedom and democracy. So far as these war aims are concerned, we are at one with the Prime Minister. We also want a better international system and we also want that the freedom of India should be guaranteed. We have heard from Sir Samuel Hoare that freedom does not drop from heaven, it has got to be achieved and won and necessary sacrifices also should be undergone in order to attain that object. We are glad that Great Britain has taken up this attitude and we are prepared to sympathise with Great Britain, but I would say that this attitude should have been taken long before. We have seen before our eyes how within recent memory Italy conquered Abyssinia and Albania, how Austria and Czechoslovakia lost their independence, how the unjust war of aggression is being ruthlessly carried on by Japan in China. During all these years the Powers of Europe did not care to raise a little finger against such aggression. Though belated, we are glad that the present war is a war of principle and for democracy and freedom. We join issue; we say yes, let us fight with all our determination and establish real peace throughout the world. In this connection I cannot but mention, Sir, that the Great War that was fought between the years 1914 and 1918 was also a war to end all wars. That was also waged for the sanctity of treaty obligations and for the establishment of the principle of self-determination for all nations great or small. The then British Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, declared this principle in no uncertain terms. America joined hands, and under the leadership of Mr. Woodrow Wilson with his 14 points for the allied forces Germany was defeated in the battlefield, and the result was the treaty of Versailles and the strengthening of the League of Nations. The German and Austrian Empires were dismembered, and the Turkish Empire met the same fate. I may say, Sir, in that war Turkey joined Germany. During the pendency of the war, the Czarist Empire was destroyed by a revolution, and the Soviet Socialist Republic was established instead by Lenin. Everybody thought things were settled and all right. In that war also, India was promised great privileges, Dominion Status and so on. India lent its unconditional support to the allied cause. After the termination of the war nothing of real substance was granted to India. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were foisted on India. Practically the whole of India opposed the introduction of the Reforms. On the basis of the

Punjab and Khilafat wrongs, non-co-operation movement was inaugurated under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, by the Khilafat and Congress organizations. The whole world witnessed with admiration the wonderful and unique unity displayed by the Hindus and Muslims throughout the length and breadth of India during those difficult and troublous days and in the face of terrible repression.

A quarter of a century after, we are again faced with a situation similar to that of 1914. Sir, the very German people are again at war with Great Britain and France. The German Empire was dismembered by the Treaty of Versailles. The German people, we find, under the leadership of Hitler has again risen sphinx-like from the ashes. Hitler has torn the Treaty of Versailles. He occupied Rhineland, Austria, Czechoslovakia before, and last only the other day, the Danzig and the Polish Corridor have been annexed to the Reich. It seems to be the immediate cause for war. This time, Sir, India wants to know her real position in the political world. We sympathise very greatly with the Poles, with the brave Poles, but we also want the same for ourselves. Sir Samuel Hoare in the British House of Commons and the Viceroy in his statement have declared that unless the communal question is settled, nothing tangible can be done. The problem of minorities has been flung at our face. Sir Samuel Hoare has said:—"The Princes are afraid of domination by British India. The Muslims are firmly opposed to the Hindu majority at the Centre. The depressed classes and other minorities genuinely believe that responsible Government dependent on a Hindu majority will sacrifice their interests. I wish they did not, but as long as they do, it is impossible, it is impossible for the Government to accept the demand for immediate and full responsibility at the Centre on a particular date."

Sir, I shall try to deal with the minority problem later on. This problem never arose when a very small number of Pathans came to conquer India. It never arose when again the Moghuls came and snatched the sceptre of authority from the Pathans and we the Muslims —the Pathans and Moghuls—fought each other on the plains of Hindustan, and when the Pathan and Moghul sovereigns ruled India, they treated, as sons of the soil, both Hindus and Mussalmans alike, irrespective of religious belief. When the British and French were fighting for supremacy on the continent and in India, even then, irrespective of the majority and minority problem, irrespective of the religious beliefs, Mirjafar, Omichand, and Jagat Seth (and Nand Kumar) conspired to sell away the freedom of this country, for a mess of pottage and to whom; to a minority community the British East India Company, represented by Lord Clive, then Colonel Clive, to establish themselves in this country. Mirjafar, Omichand, Jagat Seth

and Nand Kumar might have perished, but their spirits are still hovering over us. Sir, Lord Clive representing the British people took recourse to all the vices with which Lord Macaulay tried to malign the Bengalees—perjury, forgery, deceit and add to that bribery also.

Sir, I will take the Muslim case first. When the British people got possession of Bengal they used to come via Cape of Good Hope. Later on when the Suez route was opened the British policy was directed towards the occupation of the whole of India and the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire so that Great Britain could possess Egypt known as the neck of the British Empire. Prior to the war of 1914, European diplomacy was directed particularly against the driving out of the Turks, bag and baggage, of which Britain was a partner. Of course, on occasions when the Czars of Russia wanted to dominate the Mediterranean, with that end, wars were fought against the Turks by the Russians. Great Britain helped the Turks to keep back the Russian aggression in the Mediterranean. But that was done for fear of Russian aggression. Disraeli afterwards known as Lord Beaconsfield and Gladstone advocated the cause of the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. It was Disraeli who maligned Turkey by calling the Turks "Sick Man" of Europe. It is well-known by this time how the sick men of Europe became healthy men and gave healthy blows to the European aggressor nations under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha a few years back. (Cheers from the Opposition Benches.) It is well-known by this time how a year prior to the war of 1914 there was a pact between Russia and Great Britain for the division of the Turkish Empire.

Let us take the position of Muslim States just before the War. Afghanistan was more or less a dependent state on Great Britain. Persia was practically divided up between Russia and England. Northern Persia was under the sphere of influence of Russia and Southern Persia under that of England. On the defeat of Germany, the Turkish Empire was dismembered; Constantinople was placed under the occupation of the Allied army. Arabia was placed under Sheriff Hossain, a vassal of England. Iraq and Palestine were placed under the British Mandate, and Egypt was also placed under British control. Syria and Asia Minor were given to the Greeks. When everything was gone the Muslim world was stirred to its depth owing to the Khilafat agitation. Sir, here I would just refer to the position that was created after this war——

(Here, the member reached the time-limit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Shamsuddin; you can speak for another five minutes.

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD: Sir, as far as the amendments of my Party are concerned I am quite prepared to assure you that no one would speak from my Party. Would you allow me to finish my speech?

Mr. SPEAKER: How long will you take?

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD: Another ten or fifteen minutes.

Mr. SPEAKER: You all know that I am quite willing to accommodate you as much as possible, but my difficulty is that there are other amendments.

Mr. SASANKHA SEKHAR SANYAL: Let us have another day, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not mind.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, may I suggest that this being a Government business it may be continued on Monday

Mr. SPEAKER: I would like to know the view of the Chief Minister.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, it is very difficult for me to consent straight-away to a suggestion of this kind. We are very much pressed for time, and ordinarily—and I mean no offence—members go out of Calcutta for the week-end; sometimes they come and sometimes they do not; and it is very difficult to get them all to attend meeting. However, there is another point of view that the discussion should not be stifled, and that has also got to be considered. If you will give me a few minutes time,—meanwhile Mr. Shamsuddin may carry on,—I will let you know.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Shamsuddin, will you please continue?

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD: Thank you, Sir.

This is what was actually said by the Frenchman Gustave Le Bou with regard to the mandate of Iraq:—

"To establish, with ancient Baghdad as a capital, a Moslem State which may revive the ancient glory of the Arabian race.

"This brilliant operation would, if the English protectorate had succeeded in imposing itself on the whole East, have had more important results even than merely commercial benefits. The most obvious benefit would have been to give England an overland route to Persia and India. If then she had succeeded in conquering Constantinople, either directly or through the Greeks, British domination of the East would have been complete and its hegemony, which our pale diplomatists resisted so feebly, would have weighed the more heavily upon the world.

"England had thus very ably repaired some of the faults committed in the East, but other psychological blunders, irreparable this time, have occurred to ruin her power in the East for a long time. To sustain the contradictory aspirations of the Mahomedans in Mesopotamia, the Jews in Palestine, and the Greeks in Turkey constituted a Machiavellian policy from which Machiavelli himself might have shrunk.

"The English completely forgot that principle when they tried to dismember Turkey and destroy at Constantinople the power of the Sultan, who is considered by all Mahomedans as the 'commander of the Faithful' and the representative of God on earth. Immediate consequences resulted. From the Bosphorus through Egypt to the Ganges the Mahomedan world revolted."

Sir, even to-day this bogey of minority, the communal issue (cries of 'Oh' 'Oh' from Coalition benches). Have patience; listen to it; it is not a trifling matter.

The bogey is raised that if freedom is achieved the Mussalmans of India will be devoured up by the majority community, meaning Hindus. Let me examine the whole position. Taking the most selfish point of view, we find that it is the Mussalmans who have lost their empire and they with their Hindu brethren are slaves in their home land.

Sir, yesterday the Hon'ble the Chief Minister said that we have our accidental domiciles in this country. I do not understand, Sir, what he meant by that. Ours is not an accidental domicile. We refuse to leave one inch of our hearth and home (hear, hear, from the Opposition bench). It is our own land. After losing their sovereignty, after losing their freedom, I cannot conceive, Sir, what more will they lose. I know what trememdous sacrifices the Mussalmans as a community had to make in between 1757 and 1857; and then as a matter of policy the Hindus were favoured by the British Imperialism. Sir, when the Hindus gained political consciousness and particularly

since the days of the partition agitation their motives began to be suspected. The history of the Partition of Bengal is still fresh in our memory. The Mussalmans were led to believe that Muslim rule was established in Eastern Bengal and Assam. It is well-known under what circumstances the partition was annulled, a settled thing was unsettled, and that was solely due to the pressure of agitation.

Differences there might have been between the Hindus and the Mussalmans, occasional quarrels there might have been between them, and these exist in many countries—in England where there are religious differences—Roman Catholics, Protestants, and so on. Religious and other differences do exist in many countries, many nations. It might be said that the Muslim League opposes the Congress proposal, but Muslim League also stands for a free India. What then stands in the way of the declaration of the future goal of India, and a beginning being made in that direction. These bogies of communalism and minority problems have been trotted up for serving the purpose of British Imperialism. Sir, I may tell this House that these so-called minority problems cannot be held as an excuse for retarding the growth of the spirit of national independence for long. Either the Hindu Mahasaba or the Muslim League, or the communal bogey or the so-called minority problem are temporary structures and edifices in the path of national progress. These unholy structures will, I am sure, soon crumble to pieces and their remains will be carted away to that museum where reposes in silent majesty the relics of a dead past reminding future generations of the follies and frivolities of those that have gone before them (hear, hear from the Opposition benches).

Sir, it is time the British statesmen should understand that to India an even deal should be given. Contrivances and devices will not avail. Let it be declared that complete independence is the goal of India and let it be left to us to frame our own constitution and we will settle our own differences. If Britain is fighting for the freedom of Poland, why should she not concede the same right to the Indian? In this connection I cannot but mention an extract from the speech of Major Atlee, the Labour Leader, recently delivered in England. He said:—

> "All nations, great and small, of whatever colour or creed, must have rights to live and develop their own characteristics, provided they do not infringe other's rights. The German must recognise that the Pole, the Czech and the Jew has the same right as he to a place in the world. Equally the Briton must concede the same right to the Indian and other inhabitants of the British Empire."

Sir, before I sit down, may I declare that in spite of the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, the communal bogey, the so-called minority problems, nationalist India, Hindu and Muslim Nationalist India would march forward for the real day of deliverance and not the day of deliverance declared a few days ago.

Sir, on the 8 crores of Mussalmans of India rest the duty not only of fighting for the independence of India but also on them rests the deliverance of the people of Palestine, Egypt and other Muslim countries. Let us hope, Sir, that the British statesmen would take such steps as would ensure the fullest co-operation between India and Great Britain for the successful prosecution of the War and thereby help in the establishment of a new order of things in which all nations, great or small, including India, can live in peace and freedom. With these words I move my motion.

Dr. SYAMAPROSAD MOOKERJEE: The amendment that stands in my name and which I have the privilege to move is as follows:—

I propose, Sir, that the last paragraph of the Government resolution be substituted by the following:—

"In order to make such co-operation possible and effective this Assembly urges Government to take immediate steps—

(I) To enable the Bengalees to participate in the defence of their Motherland (*a*) by the removal of the distinction between the so-called martial and non-martial classes; (*b*) by affording to the Bengalees military training on an extensive scale in all branches of warfare; (*c*) by raising Bengalee Regiments and organising Mechanised Units on a permanent footing and (*d*) by the modification of the Indian Arms Act, so as to bring it into line with the law obtaining in England.

(II) To convey to the British Government the necessity for an immediate and unequivocal declaration that consistently with the avowed aims of the present war, the principles of democracy and freedom shall be applied to India unreservedly, her right to become a free and independent country shall be recognised and as an immediate step towards the attainment of such independence, full Dominion Status as implemented by the Statute of Westminister shall be conferred on India at the end of the war.

(III) And to convey to the British Government that in order to secure the full co-operation of the people of Bengal in the present struggle for the protection of democracy steps should forthwith be taken for the removal of the disabilities and inequities on the Hindus

who form a minority in Bengal, resulting from the operation of the present Constitution and specially to secure the revision of the so-called Communal Award which is manifestly anti-democratic and is seriously retarding the growth of nationalism in the country".

Sir, the war has given rise to diverse fundamental issues and whether we look at them from the point of view of world politics or of Indian problems, it is possible that there may be resolutions on the subject of the war looking at the matter from different angles of vision. The brilliant and searching analysis which was presented before the House by the Leader of the Opposition, as perhaps he alone could have done, criticising the war aims of 1914 to 1918 adds to our knowledge of history—a valuable asset undoubtedly; but it does something more because it sounds a timely warning to the people of India as to their duty at the present crisis.

Sir, I do not propose to spend much time in analysing the war aims, because I feel that we are confronted to-day with a real war which may have devastating effects on the entire human civilisation. But I wish to remind the House how a distinguished British scientist and a friend of India analysed recently the troubles from which modern civilisation is suffering. There is no doubt material prosperity is visible on many sides, but the countries that wield influence to-day suffer from three insatiable lusts, the lusts of power, of prestige and of possession. So far as we are concerned, we shall always sympathise with oppressed nations, countries which are suffering today, whether on account of the whims of the dictators whose methods are ruthless, swift and sometimes barbaric, or by Imperialistic countries whose methods are slow, but sure, following, as they do, the deadening process, shall I say, of self-constituted trusteeship resulting in domination over other people's territories against the will of the people concerned. This sovereignty continues as long as the interest of the Imperialistic countries demand that that should be so.

The war aims have been declared and I shall not question the war aims for the purpose of my speech. The burden of my speech will be, and indeed the amendment itself suggests, that if the war aims be what they have been described to be, then for Heaven's sake apply them to India (cries of "hear", "hear"). That is the only practical test I shall apply. I shall not question the sincerity of the British Government when it has been declared that they are fighting for the cause of democracy and freedom. I shall not question the sincerity of the British declaration that they are fighting to-day to save the world from unjust aggression. But I shall say that here is an instance, here is a case, where you can well apply the principles which you are proclaiming to the world to-day for general acceptance.

Sir, there is just one matter with regard to the war aims to which I shall refer before I leave the subject. During the last few weeks

perhaps the members of the House have noticed that there has been a subtle change in the manner of presenting the war aims. It is no longer for saving the world against the attack of aggression, but now it is saving Europe for democracy. Sir, even here I shall say that the omission to mention the rest of the world is accidental and not deliberate; for, after all, who does not know that Europe to-day is the home of the most notorious aggressors and for that reason perhaps the British politicians have recently thought it expedient to refer specially to Europe and omit the rest of the globe.

I shall refer now to the first part of my amendment. I have raised there the question of India's defence. Yesterday and to-day we have been discussing the situation created by the war, but I am sorry, Sir, that none of the speakers has referred to this aspect of the problem which I feel concerns us most vitally. We are asked to co-operate. What right, I ask, have we to co-operate—we who have not been given any training and facilities to defend our own hearth and home? Sir, I shall not raise a general discussion on the defence policy of India. But it is well known that one of the greatest blots on the British administration has been the failure to train Indians to defend their own country, to have kept Indians unarmed, to have indeed emasculated the manhood of India. For this not only has India suffered, but, shall I say, British interests ultimately are bound to suffer.

What would have been the position today, I ask you to imagine, if during the last 150 years Indians had been given military training under Indian leadership and if India and Europe could have had good relations with each other—and there was no reason why they should not—, and if a free India and England stood together for the defence of freedom and democracy, would there have been any power on earth that could have dared stand against the combined strength of England and India? But deliberately India's defence policy has been carried on against the best interests of this country (a voice from the European Benches—'oh, oh' 'question). No 'oh, oh, please! And here you may 'question' as many times as you like, but you know, the truth perfectly well in your heart of hearts. If you had been an Indian, you would not have questioned it. You know it very well that the interests of India have suffered thereby, because if today Japan comes, if today Germany comes, who is there to defend India? Why should we look to the Englishmen to come and defend our own hearth and home? And why should England and not India herself command her army? Sir, you may ask, why has that been so? The answer is simple. It has been so done because there has been lack of trust. You could not trust Indians to be trained in the art of defending their country, for you had thought, who knows, that they might turn against their oppressors, who knows they might turn against England. (Again a voice from the European Benches: 'Oh, Oh'). Why 'Oh, Oh'? Why

not train them? Why not take up the challenge here and now and give Indians military training within the next five years and thus show your *bona fides*? Indians are fit for military training; there is no question of want of capacity against the Indians. Sir, I am here referring to Bengalis in particular. Bengalis have been described by interested people as a race of cowards. Sir, I shall not turn to history and present before you the numerous names of Hindus and Muslims, sons of Bengal, who fought for their country. I shall not take up the names even from early British period and remind my European friends with whose help India and Bengal were conquered. But I shall come immediately to the last war of 1914-1918." And, Sir, here I have in my hand records to show that as many as 8,000 Bengalis enlisted themselves in the Bengali Regiment which was raised during the last war. I have records in my possession to show that the activities of the Bengalis were spoken of in the highest terms by the British Officers. Their courage, their bravery, their endurance, everything was spoken of in the highest terms. Now if that was the position, if Bengalis came forward even in the year of our Lord, 1914, to stand up in defence of England and of India, may I ask, Sir, what was the motive for disbanding the Bengali Regiment just after the termination of war? The explanation given was "The Regiment was raised in times of war. The war is over; so let the Bengalis go back to their homes". I ask, once the allegation of incapacity on the part of the Bengalees was proved to be false, was it not incumbent upon the Government of the day to have continued the Bengali Regiment and expanded it in a manner which would have been worthy of the Province as a whole that demand was made but rejected. Sir, my amendment therefore suggests that full military training should immediately be imparted to the Bengalees. I further ask the Indian Arms Act must be modified so as to bring it into line with the English law. These disabilities must go, if there is to be any honourable co-operation. Sir, we are talking of war but what has been done for the purpose of defending this country? Yesterday I was reading in the newspaper that during the last three months and a half steps were taken by England to such an extent that today England can boast of having the finest air force in the world. Rightly so. England did that but what is there to defend India, a country for which England is till today responsible? What has been actually done for defending India and what increased opportunities there are for allowing Indians to paticipate in the defence of their motherland? Sir, to this I know the answer will be given by the Government "that the Provincial Government is not responsible." Truly so, I accept it, but I would suggest Sir, that the Provincial Government should inform the Central Government on this issue that unless adequate arrangements are forthwith made for this purpose for which I have no doubt that all sections of the House, at least those sections comprised of Indians will be prepared to vote the necessary expenditure of money, if that is not done then

the Provincial Government will resign as a protest against the attitude of the Government of India. Let the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq here and now take up this attitude on behalf of the people of Bengal. Sir, that is my first point.

I now come to the second part of my amendment. The second part deals with India's future Constitution. Sir, it has been suggested by several Europeans and Indians in public speeches and in private conversations that war time should be avoided for raising such controversial constitutional issues. It is said "You should not raise this question of India's future constitutional advance and embarrass the British Government when the war is actually going on". Sir, when the last war was on, the same question was raised in England and in India and people asked about the status of India. In this connection I shall just read three or four lines from the reply which was given not by any English agitator but by an ex-Viceroy of India, one of the strongest upholders of British Imperialism in this country. Said Lord Curzon justifying the attitude taken up by the Indians in raising the question of India's future constitutional advance when England was at war with Germany, "It is all very well to say here that 'you ought not to raise these matters in times of war. My Lords, it is the war that raises these issues" Mark the words that follow. Lord Curzon continued, "you cannot unchange the forces which are now loosened and are at work in every part of the world without having a repercussion which extends over every hemisphere and ocean and believe me, events happening in Russia, in Ireland and in almost every country of Europe, the speeches made about little nations and the spirit of nationality have their echo in India itself". Sir, I do not think I need labour this point further, but this passage, this striking passage from the speech of the late Lord Curzon justifies the attitude taken up by Indians in raising the question of their future constitutional position arising out of the present war. I have accepted the sincerity of the war aims and I ask, Sir, are the war aims to be unreservedly applied to India? That is the question which India asks today. The question which India asks today is, is there to be any difference between Indian freedom and the freedom of Poland for which a world catastrophe has now been welcomed? We are asked Sir, to co-operate in a cause which aims at liberating mankind. And we ask, will that mankind include the people of India? We are asking, Sir, is an Indian to be condemned as a rebel or as a traitor or guilty of high treason if he chose the life of comparative poverty but breathing free air and reject the life of a vassal and a dependent relegated to a corner in his master's palace and eating the crumbs and refuse of his table. Is it a crime for an Indian if he puts these questions to the British people for clearing up the atmosphere?

You may ask why ask for a declaration, can you prove that there is any necessity for asking for a special declaration. I shall say, Sir,

that there is every reason why a declaration should be asked for. Let us go back for a moment to 1914. The war aims of the Great War were of course torn to pieces yesterday by the Leader of the Opposition, but let us say for the time being that the war aims of 1914, as presented to the world by the British statesmen then in power were true and sincere. What were the war aims? They were that war was necessary for the cause of freedom, for freeing the world from tyranny and oppression—a war for ending all wars. What was India's response? India supplied men and money and her contribution was generous to a fault. But what was the result? What was the result of the participation of India in the war of 1914? First comes back to our memory of the shameful event of Jallianwalabagh. What about constitutional advance of India? Doses of Reforms have come, richly diluted, shall I say, with reservations and reactionary provisions and liberally soaked in the mischievous policy of divide and rule. That has been the reward that India has got. We have noticed also repression and an iron-hand rule against every form of agitation and movement carried on by Indians for the attainment of India's freedom. You may ask, Sir, what about the declaration? Was not there a declaration made to the people of India and why should not they be satisfied with that declaration? What is that declaration? The basic declaration is what was made in 1917—progressive realisation of Responsible Government by stages to be determined by Parliament.

Now Sir, when that mouthful expression is told and re-told to the people of India, how is the problem put before them? It is said, why do you not see that Responsible Government is the accepted goal? What else do you want? Dominion Status is the goal to be reached by stages to be determined by Parliament! We are accepting your claim for Dominion Status. Why are you worrying us in this way?

Then, Sir, read the speeches delivered in Paliament, when members of Paliament opposed the British Policy, got up and said "are you going to give up this huge market which is giving you such an enormous wealth? Are you going to give up India?" In reply to these questions the English statesmen say "Why are you worrying, the pace is to be determined by us. Unless you approve, there will be no question of Dominion Status". Read for instances the speeches of the Right Honourable Winston Churchill. He said in or about 1921 that India should get Dominion Status. Nine years later he said he used the expression "Dominion Status" true, but he meant it in a ceremonial sense. When Lord Sinha or Sir Habibullah come from India, they are treated as equals in a ceremonial sense. Give India rank, honour and ceremony but, said Mr. Churchill, "I did not contemplate India having the same constitutional rights and system as Canada in any period which we could foresee". (A voice from the

European bench: He never said that.) I shall show you that he said that and then you will eat your humble words. Now, Sir, what shall I call this? Shall I call this, to quote my old teacher Mr. Wordsworth, nothing but a trickery of words. What is it that we want? We want a simple and clear declaration. The declaration is this: that the policy of aggression is at an end, exploitation of India is over and a new leaf is to be turned from today, that India has every right to be treated as an independent country. The Chief Minister said yesterday no one could grant independence to a country but let Britain grant what it can grant, as I state in my amendment, full dominion status according to the Statute of Westminister. Let there be a declaration to this effect that dominion status as implemented by the Statute of Westminister will be conferred on India at the end of the war. India of 1939 is not prepared to be satisfied with that vague declaration of policy which was given to the people of India in 1917.

I do not propose to discuss the merits of dominion status or what exactly it conveys but I shall say only this that dominion status as implemented by the Statute of Westminister contains the seeds of independence and as Ireland and South Africa have shown, the seeds of independence will germinate and can germinate at the will of the people of the country concerned and not at the will of the British Parliament. I am glad to find that the Government resolution also says that a declaration that dominion status as implemented by the Statute of Westminister would be granted should be made. I hope, Sir, if this portion of the resolution is seriously meant to be what it says then the British Government is to be told that if India's status is not recognised, then the Bengal Government also will offer every possible resistance for the attainment of India's liberty.

The question that next arises is about the British connection. I am not suggesting and I do not contemplate speaking very frankly that India is prepared to sever British connection immediately if dominion status is granted, but that must be left to the will of India. India and England, if they carry on their joint work as friends and allies, as I said before, there is no power on earth which can face this combined force but India must remain a willing and equal partner.

There is one other point to which reference has been made and that is the burden of the song in political circles to-day. It has been said, how can you get dominion status or independence? Look at your communal differences. If you all agree, then we shall give you dominion status. That is the present burden of song. Let us just imagine, of course it is not possible, that by some means of magic the British constitution could be dissolved and a declaration is made that if all the people of England belonging to different groups and parties and religious views agree to one constitution, the same would be

granted to England. Will England then ever get a working constitution? It is ridiculous to say that until all the parties agree there can be no question of further political advance. I do not want to say that communal differences do not exist. I say that these differences are there and that is a most regrettable feature of Indian public life today. I do not also say that the Britishers have been responsible for starting our internal differences; to our utter shame there were differences amongst us; otherwise the Britishers would not have ruled here, but would have remained here as traders but not as our masters. But my charge against British policy is that these differences have been intensified by British administration and they have followed deliberately the rule of divide and govern in a very artistic fashion, sometimes siding with this side and sometimes siding with that side, but securing all the time the pre-eminence and continuance of the British régime.

You talk of communal differences. What has been the history of Great Britain? There were differences, bloody feuds between England and Scotland. Of course in this House Englishmen are sitting here as fast friends of Scotchmen but I do not know how they refer to each other in private conversation! In any case if you refer to British history, you find bloody feuds that went on for generations between Great Britain and Ireland. In every such instance did the Englishman, the Scotchman and the Irishman call for the services of another foreign nation saying they were fighting amongst themselves, and surrendering to foreign rule. If they accepted the Kaiser's authority there would not have been a world war, but of course they could not think of such an event as a remote possibility. Nor did the people of Canada or South Africa follow such a procedure. They fought with each other but they did not allow a third party to come and create further trouble amongst them. They fought with each other; they got their freedom and they have ultimately settled down. So far as Hindus and Muslims and other parties in India are concerned, I am fully confident that they might be quarrelling and fighting to-day, but a time will come when they will see the folly of their course and stand as a united Indian nation for the uplift of the country as a whole. ("Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.)

Sir, I come now to the last portion of my amendment. Sir, if I have referred specifically to the case of the Hindus of Bengal, believe me, Sir, I have done so under a sense of full responsibility. It is not my intention particularly in a debate of this kind to refer in detail to our internal quarrels or to controversial matters. But I shall say, this that the same principle for which England is fighting today,—fair-play, justice and liberty—have been specially denied to the Hindus of this Province. ("Question, question" from the Coalition Benches.)

Please don't question. I shall satisfy you immediately that there is nothing in your question. Sir, why was that policy adopted? That was not started by the Muhammedans, that came as a deliberate decision of the British Government, and we know, Sir, why it was done. It was done, because no one could forget, that it is the Bengalees, the Hindus of Bengal who first sounded the clarion call of India's freedom, and it is for that, Sir, that this penalty was deliberately meted out to them. Sir, I refer specially to the so-called Communal Award. I have in my hands here a memorandum which was placed before the Joint Committee of the Indian Constitutional Reforms not signed by Bengalee Hindus, not signed by any political agitators, but subscribed by one ex-Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, two ex-Governors, Lord Lytton and Marquess of Zetland, the present Secretary of State, Lord Derby, Lord Middleton, Sir Reginald Craddock, Sir Joseph Knoll and Lord Rankeillour. These nine estimable gentlemen who never took part in any Indian agitation against British interests describe here how an act of injustice has been deliberately committed against the Hindus of Bengal. Sir, they describe in a very mild language that it is a thing which is unheard of. I will ask, Sir, my Muhammedan friends here who are in a majority in this Province to bear this point in mind. The point which was made out was this. It is one thing to concede separate communal Electorates for the purpose of giving the minorities reasonable representation in the various legislature, but it is an entirely different thing to employ the system for the purpose of conferring upon a majority community in any particular province a permanent majority in the Legislature unalterable by any appeal to the Electorate. Sir, such a course has never hitherto been adopted anywhere. Sir, again the signatories point out that to restrict, in this way the possible share in the Government of the province of the community, which plays a predominant part in the intellectual and political life, is both unwise and unfair. Sir, that was the gift not of the Muslims to the Hindus of Bengal, but that was the gift of the British Government to the Hindus of this Province. It has also been clearly indicated that the Hindus of this Province have been deprived of 10 seats in the Legislature and 10 more general seats have been provided for the Muslim community. I would assure, Sir, my friends belonging to the Muhammadan community that this was not done out of deep affection for their community. This was done deliberately with a set purpose in view and that set purpose was to cripple the Hindus of this Province, who were the staunchest advocates of the principles of nationalism. Sir, if the so-called Communal Award was unwise and unjust its operation during the last three years has been aimed at injuring the Hindus in a manner which calls for its immediate modification. When I raise the question of the Hindus of this Province I cannot but refer to

another matter. (Mr. K. SHAHABUDDIN: To Noakhali?) Not Noakhali —I know Sir, Mr. Shahabuddin is very much afraid of Noakhali, for conscience bites him strongly. But I am not going to refer to local problems to-day.

Sir, we have heard of Nazi propaganda. We have heard of foreign propaganda, of lies which are deliberately being circulated to the world for discrediting the British Empire. But shall I give you a typical specimen of the British propaganda against the Hindus of Bengal? In September, 1939, in the Strand Magazine, an appreciation of the Rt. Hon. Sir John Anderson has appeared,—in September, 1939, after the declaration of war for, democracy, right, justice and fair-play,—written not by a man in the street, but by a member of Parliament, the final arbiters of India's destiny. In that article, Sir, well-deserved tributes have been paid to Sir John Anderson. (AN EUROPEAN MEMBER: Who is the writer please?) Mr. Beverly Harold Baxter, I suppose your friend! (Loud laughter) Sir, let us treat this a little more seriously! Reference is made in the article to the terrorist movement. Of course, everybody knows that for this movement a section of the Hindu community of this province were responsible. Let me just read a few lines:—

"His staff gave him a warm welcome, but the terrorists gave him a warmer one. The new man must be taught a lesson. Returning from the hill country to Calcutta, his train was blown up, and the Governor escaped death by inches. His reply was an intensification of the ruthless campaign to put down the terrorists. He was warned that unless he withdrew his measures at once, he would be killed. Shortly afterwards he was to address the University Convocation, and the Police decided to make a sort of "Guy Fawkes" inspection first. It was well they did for a nest of bombs was found. More severity followed and more threats."

Sir, this is how history is made. You will take some part in the Historical Congress which is going to be held tomorrow. Here is a specimen of Indian history as my friends would like to see it to be presented to the world! I say Sir, this is the sort of lying campaign that is going on against the Hindus of Bengal. (The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Why do you take it so seriously?) Of course, Mr. Suhrawardy says "why take it so seriously". But the writer is not he but a responsible person. I know, Sir, the status of the magazine but the writer being an M. P. the mischief that such lies ultimately makes is incalculable. It poisons the untutored minds of the lay readers. I say, Sir, that it is high time that the authorities concerned, if they really want fair play and justice, should take up the question of the Hindus of Bengal, who want no favour but only that justice is done to their demands.

Sir, I have finished. The future before us is dark. Mr. Wordsworth said that yesterday and we all feel equally, being just now in the midst of a devastating war and no one knows how it will end. The future is dark indeed, but so far as India is concerned that darkness can be dispelled by England by wiping out some of her blackest records in this country. It has been suggested in some of the recent utterances that even if there was a rule of imperialism before, England has turned a new leaf. All that India asks is, let there be a clear and positive proof of this change of policy towards India. India wants peace with England and the rest of the World. India wants co-operation; but it must be peace and co-operation as between equals and not as between master and his slave. The choice, Sir, lies with England. And I would make a special appeal to the European members of this House and ask them not to regard themselves as inheritors of the old bureaucratic regimé, for that has gone not to be revived again, but to join with us as sons of England, lovers of liberty and lovers of democracy, to join with India and persuade England to adopt the right policy so that the verdict of the world will be that England's relationship with India has resulted in the enthronement of liberty and democracy and not the perpetuation of rule of might and aggression. (Applause.)

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, regarding the question of allowing the discussion to be renewed on Monday, we have considered the position. No speaker seems to observe any time limit, and it would be almost a cruelty to stop all this ceaseless flow of oratory. Government have, therefore, decided to allow the discussion to be resumed on Monday since obviously it cannot be finished to-night.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not know what would be the nature of the Division. I want to sit up late to-night so that I may finish as many amendments as possible. I would suggest, if necessary, we may sit early on Monday and bring the Division to a close at 6-30.

Mr. K. SHAHABUDDIN: May I suggest that 6-30 p.m. would be too early.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then let it be 7 p.m.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: When do you propose to sit on Monday?

Mr. SPEAKER: I propose to sit at 4 o'clock on Monday. As this is a special day I hope you will make it convenient. If there are other speakers I want to give them an opportunity to speak, sit long, and bring the Division to a close by 7.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, can't we decide to-morrow what time we sit on Monday?

Mr. SPEAKER: In any case we close at 7.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I enquire if there will be any questions on Monday?

Mr. SPEAKER: No, I shall keep them ove

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, the Council will be sitting tomorrow in the morning from 9 to 11, and I suggest that we sit at 3-15 and finish at 7.

Mr. SPEAKER: Tomorrow is a non-official day and there are quite a large number of speakers and in order to give them full opportunity to speak it is necessary to allot sufficient time. So we sit at 3 tomorrow and finish at 7.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, 7 o'clock would be too late.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then let it be 6-30.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I enquire of the Hon'ble the Home Minister if there is any special reason for sitting early to-morrow? The difficulty is that many of us have made engagements on the understanding that we sit at the usual time. If we had known before we would have been ready.

Mr. SURENDRA MOHAN MAITRA: There is another difficulty, Sir. We have been asked as members of the Select Committee to sit at 2 p.m. We do not think we shall be able to finish by 3.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am only anxious to give full opportunity to members to speak. If we do not sit early we cannot finish early.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I suggest that we sit a few minutes earlier, say 4-15.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then I make it 4 to 7.

Mr. K. SHAHABUDDIN: Sir, 7 o'clock would be too late for our engagements.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: We are not very much interested in dinners.

Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI: May I know what is your decision?

Mr. SPEAKER: The arrangement is that tomorrow we sit from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. and on Monday I shall try to sit as early as possible and the Division will be brought to a close at 7 o'clock punctually.

Mr. Abdul Hakeem, are you moving your amendments?

Mr. ABDUL HAKEEM: Yes, Sir.

So far as the first part of the amendment is concerned I move that—

in place of "full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the war" the following be substituted:—

"Unconditional support and full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the War."

As regards the second part I move that the second paragraph of the resolution be replaced by the following:—

"This Assembly, therefore, authorises Government to assure the Government of India full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the war *on the footing that India should be recognized as an Independent Nation, immediately on the termination of the War.*"

Then as regards the third paragraph of the resolution I move that it be deleted entirely.

So, Sir, the resolution as amended will read as follows:—

"This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by totalitarian Governments in Europe and declares its complete sympathy with the British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in the defence of democracy and of the right of self-determination of the smaller and weaker nations which are now at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive dictator ridden states and cannot, unaided, maintain their territorial integrity.

"This Assembly, therefore, authorises Government to assure the Government of India unconditional support and full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the war, on the footing that India should be recognised as an Independent Nation, immediately on the termination of the war."

Now, so far as the Government resolution is concerned, it is divided into three parts: The first part speaks of the world-wide abhorrence of the tyranny perpetrated by the Nazi aggression. We have no two opinions on that. We are entirely in agreement there.

The second part is a sort of expression of opinion on the part of this House that we should give "full co-operation" in the successful prosecution of the war. As far as the third part is concerned, there is a demand for "Dominion Status" by this House for India. It would appear that three pre-eminent questions are involved in this. Firstly, what are the existing, admitted facts which we cannot deny and which we cannot ignore? Secondly, what attitude should be taken up by us under the existing circumstances and at this critical juncture, when Great Britain and France are at war with the enemies of humanity? Thirdly, if we should press a demand of any description as condition precedent to our offer of co-operation. I find that the hard facts, the admitted facts, the existing facts, are that the British people are our masters and whether we liked it or not, we are slaves, and as slaves, we have got to carry out the wishes of the British people. Therefore why should we clog our expression of co-operation with a condition precedent. It ill-behoves a subject nation that they should appear before their masters in the capacity of a beggar with a beggar's bowl. If a slave is in need of anything under the sun, it is freedom from slavery—the *summum bonum* of his life. In that case, let us cry for complete independence. If, however, Great Britain is at all desirous of her own accord to make a concession, that must be a free and spontaneous gift of a sovereign to a subject nation. Let us therefore have the fulfilment of our aspirations as a spontaneous gift from Great Britain. Why should we make a demand for Dominion Status or this and that? The right attitude that we should take is to offer unconditional support and co-operation to Great Britain in her present need.

The resolution itself says "Dominion Status" as defined in the Statute of Westminster. Now, Sir, if it is the declared policy of Great Britain to confer Dominion Status on us why should we then make this novel prayer again as we will get it sooner or later. The real position is that we do not know exactly what we should want. Centuries of slavery have repressed our noble rage, and we cannot rise up to our full height. I feel, Sir, that there are two courses open. One is a free gift of Great Britain, and the other is open rebellion for the fulfilment of India's desires. India is however unfit for the second eventuality. Unarmed India after years of foreign domination cannot break into open rebellion against her masters. Therefore, we appear before them with a beggar's bowl. But if we beg at all let us cry for our birthright—Oh, for a moment of independence! Now on this war resolution we have heard so many things raised by my leader, the Hon'ble the

Chief Minister that I cannot pass on without making a passing remark upon them as in my humble opinion they are vital to the interests of this country. In making a demand for "Dominion Status" the Hon'ble the Chief Minister grew eloquent on the blessings of peace under British rule. I submit, Sir, that in doing so he unguardedly and most probably, unintentionally cast a reflection upon the prior Muslim Rule in India. I wonder how conveniently he could forget the glories of Muslim rule in India, and of "Agra and Lahore of Great Moguls" of which Milton sings.

There is yet another thing to which I must make a reference in connection with the speech that was delivered by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister. He emphasised and accentuated the existence of communal bitterness, and spoke about his want of faith in the well-known policy of "divide and rule" adopted by foreigners in this country. He said that the British people did not divide us, we have divided ourselves. He propounded a curious syllogism: "We are divided, and they rule." There is, on the face of it, a missing link. Let me, Sir, supply it—"We are divided, and they will not allow us to be united, and thus they rule." This is the complete picture! The problem of India is an age-old problem. In the 18th century, an English poet who saw things "through the loopholes of retreat" said: "Is India free? Does she wear her jewelled turban? Or do we grind her still?" The same query have gone forth from many a quarter in and outside India, and many a patriot and lover of humanity has demanded emancipation of India from foreign yoke. Sir, what will the unarmed India do? It would appear that under the new constitution we have been exercising certain powers and that now on the eve of the outbreak of war the Government of India Act of 1935 has been mutilated at the instance of the British people. Therefore what we get as beggars, we cannot retain for all times. Let us, therefore, make great sacrifices. We made sacrifices in the past and let us make further sacrifices in time to come. If we do so, we can rise equal to the occasion, and time may come when we may have our cherished aspirations fulfilled. Listening merely to tall speeches containing high-sounding phrases and bombastic phraseology will not take us very far. As far as our present situation is concerned, I am reminded of the couplets of sweet Omar Khayyam, and I may quote from his verses so beautifully rendered into Bengali by one who is now present in the Chamber as one of the Assembly officials:

"দূরের বাদ্য লাগে কি ভালো ? মাঝখানে তার বেজায় ফাঁক !"

Therefore, Sir, let us set our own house in order so that we may rise equal to the task that is before us.

May I pass on to some other aspects of the question, namely, that the other day, I mean yesterday, I was listening to the oration of the

Leader of the Opposition and his longings for the advent of the time when he would be able to "breathe free Indian air, to smell the Indian flower and to sing Indian songs" of battle or of peace. I heartily appreciate the deep longings, the passionate yearnings of the Leader of the Opposition and I can only assure him that if our sacrifices are greater than now, such a day will dawn when the Hindus and the Muslims will be reunited forgetting their communal differences in spite of intervention of third parties. "If winter comes, can spring be far behind?" Till then, let us wait, and watch the course of events and take heart in the inspiring message of the Poet:

"সে দিন প্রভাতে নূতন তপন, নূতন জীবন করিবে বপন;
এনহে কাহিনী, এনহে স্বপন, আসিবে সেদিন আসিবে।"

If that day does not come, if Britain does not confer spontaneously the gift of "full independence" upon the children of India, alas! darker days are in store for all. There will be a time when the whole country will change its character and not only India but Great Britain also will rue it and civilization will be in danger. God forbid such gloomy days.

Well, here is a war against the enemies of civilization and humanity, and if we can contribute our mite to it, Great Britain will confer "full independence" upon India. She will not and cannot hold India under her perpetual guardianship looking upon us as mere children, as mere bondmen. If she takes advantage of our wrangles, sit in judgment over them and "smile delighted with eternal poise", and thus perpetuate exploitation and delay salvation, it will be writ large that "a greater Empire and little minds go ill together"!

With these words, Sir, I move my amendment for "unconditional support".

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the light of the declaration made by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister yesterday on the floor of the House giving the categorical assurance that in case the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, of which he is a member, decide to withhold its co-operation in the prosecution of war he would not remain for a single moment in the Cabinet, I do not propose the amendment standing against my name.

Mr. PULIN BEHARY MULLICK: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we fully associate ourselves with the resolution before the House. The last portion of it, namely, the "New Constitution formulated should provide sufficient and effective safeguards for the recognised minorities and interests and should be based upon their full consent and approval" concerns us vitally. In other words, any future constitutional advance

must be asociated with sufficient and effective safeguards for the minorities such as the Muslims, the Scheduled Castes, the Anglo-Indians and others, and that the new Constitution must not be thrust upon them against their wishes but that it must be based upon their full consent and approval.

Now, Sir, why is this anxiety for safeguards? The answer is to be found in the past experience of generations of oppression by the strong against the weak. The primitive desire of man to oppress the weak is innate in human nature. Europe provides today a shameless manifestation of this wicked desire. Smaller states have fallen victims to Nazi, Soviet and Fascist aggression. Finland in agony has been sending out frantic appeals for help. Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland are all in anxious suspense. So, Sir, that is the position in Europe today. The rule that "right is might" has been reversed into "might is right". This, Sir, is a pernicious principle. We are anxious that this pernicious principle may not take root on the Indian soil. Sir, with unrestrained power in the hands of the majority community there is a real danger of minorities sharing the same fate of the smaller States of Europe today. Hence the necessity of sufficient and effective safeguards for the minorities in the new Constitution.

Then, again, Sir, the minorities must be consulted and their wishes fully respected. They must on no account be left to the mercy of the majority community who have so long ruthlessly exploited them. The claim, I should say the unfounded claim, of the majority community to represent the minorities, such as the Scheduled Castes has been repudiated. The trick of converting some of our men to their line of thinking, and making them speak against our interests, has also been fully exposed. Therefore the real leaders of the minorities, who have substantially contributed to their progress, should be consulted and their well-considered opinion embodied in any new constitution.

With these words, Sir, I wholeheartedly support the resolution.

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to associate myself with the resolution moved by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister. In doing so I would like to confine myself to the third part of the resolution that the new Constitution demanded on behalf of India must have the full consent and approval of the recognised minorities.

Sir, the workings of the Government of India Act, 1935, for the last three years have roused the gravest alarm and apprehensions amongst the Muslims of India. Provincial autonomy in Muslim minority provinces has meant not freedom but thraldom for them. The conduct of Hindu majorities has destroyed their faith in democracy itself. The Muslims can go further and accuse the Governors that in

their desire to work the Constitutioin smoothly, they have followed a deliberate policy of placating the Hindu majority at the cost of the Muslim minority. The faith which the Muslims have lost must be restored. The present Act must be replaced by another if India is to enjoy peace and progress and march forward to its goal of unity and freedom.

The real problem of India, therefore, is the problem of the Indian Muslim by whatever name it may be called—the Hindu-Muslim problem or the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity or by any other name. Unless the fear of the Muslims is removed and removed once for all, India can have neither peace nor progress. There are people in this country who wish to deceive the world with talks of single nationality. Such a nationality never existed and never can exist in India. The cultural, social and religious barriers are insurmountable. These advocates of single nationality for India, themselves know the great obstacles that are likely to stand in the way. But they deliberately cloud the issue by creating a countrywide sentiment of hate against the British so that somehow or other they may obtain the power of administration and themselves dominate the minorities.

Sir, when these advocates of single nationality have not been able to unite their own Hindu Community socially, it is preposterous for them to say that under a democratic Government they would unite into one single nation all the different communities of India in spite of different cultural ideals and religious and social barriers. The Hindu religion itself denies the Hindu masses their birth-right of freedom Hindu religion itself is a negative of democracy.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: On a point of order, Sir. Is the speaker allowed in this House to cast aspersion on Hindu religion in the way he is doing?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have not heard him

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: The first basic principle of Hindu caste system is the inequality of mankind based on birth. The superiority and inferiority of man depends upon the caste in which he is born. In the circumstances to think of cultural unity with inter-social relations amongst the different communities following fundamentally different religions is but an idle dream. It is no use avoiding the real issue which Mr. Bose called the bogey of minority and which like a faithful camp follower Mr. Shamsuddin has reproduced. Under the stress of political necessity, the Hindu leaders may talk of democrtaic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, but in actual practice, the spirit in which they work is

different. Even Mr. Gandhi feels like a Hindu and acts like a Hindu. In the Round Table Conference he expressed himself thus:

> "I would not sell the vital interest of the untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India. Here I speak not merely on behalf of the Congress but I speak on my behalf. It will create a division in Hinduism which I cannot possibly look forward to with any satisfaction whatsoever."

From Yervada he reiterated:

> "I hold that separate electorate is harmful for them (untouchables) and for Hinduism whatever it may be from the purely political standpoint. So far as Hinduism is concerned separate electorate would simply vivisect and disrupt it."

Thus did Mr. Gandhi act for consolidation of Hinduism so as to ensure an absolute majority of Hindus in the future political sphere. He is not prepared to separate politics from religion. Why then we Muslims are accused if we take up the same stand for our own rights?

It is really a matter of regret that in spite of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister's appeal to face facts as they are, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, the Leader of the Opposition, has indulged in false analogies in order to mislead the House in support of a Constituent Assembly. Mr. Bose has cited the case of Soviet Union composed of 52 nationalities. That argument defeats its own ends. In India it is a question of one single Hindu majority which overbears all else. Had we here 52 different nationalities we would have welcomed a Constituent Assembly because then not one single religious communty but a coalition of several would have prevailed and power would have been held by turns by different coalitions.

In spite of all tall talks, the political parties or groups in this country have taken their natural course and have been divided on religious or communal lines. Even the opposition members in this house who talk so loudly of one nationalism have not been able to do away with their communal or religious identities or demarcations. The Congress party in the opposition under the leadership of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose consists, with probably one exception, of Hindu members alone, whereas the Krishak Proja followers of Mr. Shamsuddin are all Muslims. It is therefore evident that unlike other countries, the political parties to be formed in India have to run on communal lines. If, therefore, one and the same party continues to govern on the strength of its numbers, the interests of the minorities are sure to suffer. In other countries a political minority today may become a majority to-morrow by persuading others to its point of view. But here in India a religious minority like the Muslims can never become

a political majority and will therefore have to live entirely on the sufferance of another religious majority. A responsible Government formed under such circumstances will not be a Government of the people and for the people. It will be a Government responsible to a single community only and will degenerate into a form of tyranny.

So, Sir, if a new Constitution is to lead the people of India to freedom, that freedom should be for every cultural unity and community and not for the majority only. We ask for nothing but fair treatment, we desire to have for the country a Constitution under which no single community, Muslim or Hindu, should gain an upper hand over the other. The peculiar circumstances of India cannot permit of such democratic constitution where the voice of one communal majority alone should prevail.

The Muslims of India have therefore decided to resist with all the strength they possess any constitution that may be framed for India without their full consent and approval. In doing so they know that they would risk the opposition not only of the Hindus but of the British power as well who are anxious to pacify the Hindu majority. In spite of this Muslims are prepared to fight out their cause to the bitter end.

Let all concerned take note that in the event of a Constituent Assembly being convened or a Constitution being imposed on the Muslims without their consent the Muslims will regard it as a challenge to their very political existence and will fight with every weapon at their command and with their backs to the wall till their rights are established. They may have to fight on two fronts but they will not surrender either to the British or to the Hindus.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: There is no quorum in this House, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: We will carry on just as we did yesterday.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the subject under discussion has been so ably reviewed by eminent speakers on the floor of this House that I do not expect to make any contribution to that plane. Sir, my approach to the question is absolutely the approach of a man in the street, particularly of rural Bengal, who is not so much influenced by political philosophy or international technique, as by practical consideration. Sir, if I rise in this House, it is only because I want to be a bit matter-of-fact, and I wish I could also be brutally frank in my observations. Sir, the question of co-operation with British people in their war aims appears to me to be a monstrous begging of the whole question. Why should we co-operate if our co-operation is demanded or even compelled as slave? I can understand and I am prepared to appreciate the attitude of a slave. A

slave has no choice. Sir, we shall co-operate, because we must, but if issues are raised, we must have the opportunity to examine them on their merits with reference to India's safety in the present and future. Sir, the first issue,—the stock issue that is raised—is the oft-quoted slogan of "Democracy in danger". Poland is quoted as a case in point. Well, Sir, every section of Indian political thought has unreservedly condemned the powers and forces that caused the destruction of that beautiful country and its still more beautiful people, whose bravery has already been lifted to a landmark in history. Well, we are prepared to take our hats off to them. But what is England's claim on the score of Poland? Sir, what has she done for Poland? What is she even doing to-day for poor Finland which is following the footsteps of Poland? All England's flutter is nothing but a history of despair against the growing might of Germany and Russia. Sir, it is like the cry of one vulture in unrighteous indignation against another. The cry of democracy is nothing but a sugar-coating for imperialistic objects below the surface. Otherwise, Sir, how do you explain the reason for England's century-old insincerity to India's aspirations? Sir, by a systematic process of slow poisoning, the Britishers have pushed us to a state of great poverty and unvarnished degredation under the specious plea of protection of minorities. Sir, if you look at England's treatment of India, you will find that her conduct is worse than the Nazi outrages. Is it less atrocious than the Magnetic Mine and the Yellow Ray? I submit, Sir, it is worse, because this plea of democratic protection to minorities has degraded Indians intellectually to such an extent that a section of them are incapable and afraid of thinking in terms of liberty and equality. Turning to the democracy of England, I submit, Sir, we should not suppress our minds in this way. I believe in straight talk. Sir, are we to be so insincere as not to admit that the strength of England's democracy is built largely upon the ashes of India's ruin. Are we so foolish as not to be able to think that England's adversity lies to-day at least with the awakening in India. Sir, what is England in peace and prosperity? England in peace and prosperity is a veritable octopus ever tightening the claws of her imperialistic domination over the legitimate aspirations of this unfortunate country, and I believe, Sir, the average man in India believes that this war furnishes India with a golden and God-sent opportunity, and we must be able to use and exploit it to our benefit. Sir, look at the average-newspaper reader. You will find, Sir every morning the report of a British ship sunk sends a breath of wild pleasure into his mind. Why? Because an Indian thinks that the prosperity of India and the prosperity of England are not co-existent. If India has any chance of prosperity, it lies in the distress and difficulty of England. Sir, if a verification were needed—this controversial question has been discussed, and is being discussed in an academic line,—if any verification were needed, I would appeal to the

Government to see to the dissolution of this Legislature and to appeal to the electorate, and I am sure, Sir, that in spite of so many of our present difficulties, in spite of our real and unreal conflicts, there would be one verdict that there should be no help, no contribution of any kind for England from India. Sir, there is also a very clever story of the menace to India of Russian and other foreign aggression that is flourished upon the face of India so that we may fall in line with England. Well, Sir, we are prepared to all eventualities and all uncertainties. What are we going to lose? Sir, can India's poverty be made more degrading? Can her misery be more helpless? Can our days be more cheerless and our lives darker? We are not afraid of any uncertainties, and we are prepared to take a leap in the dark. At any rate, Sir, we are not going to help England, simply because we are dragged by her to do so. The answer to me appears to be very clear. We must take our stand on non-co-operation, pure and simple. It is for the party in difficulty to pursue us, to woo us and to supplicate to us and to yield to our unyielding demands for absolute liberty of our own country.

I want to make one proposition clear, Sir, that we must replace unconditional co-operation on our part by unconditional surrender on the part of Great Britain. We must be free before we can be friends. That has been made amply clear by Dr. Mookerji to-day. Sir, this is perfect business. This is business as we understand it; this is business as the average Englishman undertands it. We must bank upon the difficulties of England and England has always been banking upon our difficulties. Sir, what has England done in this country in 1757? They took advantage of a little internal weakness in the administration of the Nawab. They exploited the little disaffection against the great monarch of Murshidabad and converted that into a rising and laid the foundation for this mighty Empire. Even in the year 1857 there was a genuine political rising born of political consciousness for freeing the country from the thraldom of foreign nation, and that was put down with all the might of the British power and it was branded and labelled as Mutiny. What are they doing even to-day? They are fanning up petty quarrels, bringing into existence conflict and new quarrels amongst ourselves and they are banking upon the same and gloating over our difficulties. Sir, in the year 1757 they hunted with Mirjafar and Omichand, and to-day to our great ignominy and shame they are also hunting with the heirs of Mirjafars and Omichands. But our confidence is that the soul of Saraj is not dead. I appeal to my friends of the Coalition Party, the proud inheritors of Islam, I invite them to undertake a merry Christmas trip round my poor constituency, round the field of Plassey. If they come here, they will find that Seraj is turning in his grave. Here is an opportunity which, if missed, may not come hereafter. If they go to Plassey, the very

dust of Mir Madan and Seraj will cry out. So, I appeal to my friends to go there and take the inspiration from the dust of Mir Madan. The opportunity is there to-day which may not appear ever after. Sir, I appeal to my friends of the Coalition Party with all humility and seriousness. Let the Ministers grovel at the feet of their white patrons because they cannot look beyond the nose of their own career and the future is uncertain for them. They may not continue the career which they now possess. Let us march shoulder to shoulder as brothers of the common land onwards with the torch of Seraj and Mir Madan in our hands for the severance of this foreign domination.

Sir, difficulties there are, differences there are; but we have got eternity ahead at our disposal in course of which we can adjust our quarrels and even we can fight over them as we had done before. But let us once for all combine and give a shake-off to the mighty power and the octopus and vampire of foreign domination would disappear forthwith

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I know it is very difficult to keep patience of members at the fag end of the day, but still I appeal to them to consider this matter from a broader perspective. As the Leader of the Opposition yesterday said in such noble language, our posterity will judge us by what we do to-day. Let us breathe a new determination and speak a new rhythm and let us brothers and sisters march shoulder to shoulder at least in one common determination despite all our difficulties to strike while the iron is hot; let us make hay in India while the sun of war shines on the horizon of England and the continent.

Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD: Sir, I rise to lend my whole-hearted support to the resolution moved by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and to oppose the amendments moved by the Leader of the Opposition and the other members of this House. The principle that has been discussed, practically in a nut-shell, is democracy. Now, arguments have been advanced and attempts have been made to prove that the principle is not of democracy, but if we just look into the history of the Great War which ended in 1918, what do we find? We find that after the termination or the conclusion of the War British Government had ample resources at their disposal, but the British Government did not increase their war ammunition or arms. There has been a series of Disarmament Conferences and they were held with a view to balancing the war power so that peace may be established between different countries We have seen when Germany and France were at war, the British Government did not lend her support to France. Germany was drunk in full with the wine of increased strength and power and gradually became ambitious of extending her territorial jurisdiction. With that end in view Germany first of all attacked Austria and conquered it. The British Government in spite

of that, exhorted Germany to hold an immediate conference to settle matters amicably. But the German people took law in their own hands. They again marched on Czechoslovakia and conquered that country. Now being in full possession of sufficient strength and war ammunition they again marched on Poland. The British Government have for all this declared war in defence of democracy, because all those smaller countries were independent and free and they had not sufficient war resources to protect themselves from the aggression of the strong and powerful nation. Poland was a weak country and they could not resist the attack. From all these it is seen that the British Government are fighting for the principle of democracy. Therefore, if Indian aims and aspirations are Dominion Status or independence then we should lend our wholehearted support and co-operation for the successful termination of the war. Therefore, we support this resolution.

With regard to the last part of the resolution that the future constitution of India should be framed in consultation with and with the full approval of the minority communities, we support it because what are we seeing to-day? The Congress which champions the cause of Independence as it trumpets will admit that it has totally failed to discharge the onerous duty entrusted upon the Congress people, on the other hand the Congress Governments have abused the power; we have got ample instances of the oppression by the Congress Governments upon the minority community and those have been published in the Pirpur Report. Even the Governors of those provinces or the Viceroy have not cared to examine those cases. So we can easily imagine the cases of the whole of India when the Constituent Assembly will be formed. We, therefore, think, that the fundamental rights, religion, culture and the distinctive rights of the individual caste and section, should be well protected and the future Constitution should be made in consultation with and with approval of those minority communities.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it damps one's spirit on an occasion like this to speak at a time when benches are almost empty, but I desire to express my views, lest silence be misunderstood. I give my support to the Government resolution moved by the Leader of the House and also the Leader of Muslim Bengal. I do not support this in a spirit of cavil at the Congress or in a spirit of opposition to what the learned Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee said with regard to the Communal Award, as some have done.

It is a resolution that has been moved by the Chief Minister on behalf of Government at a time when the Muslim League has not decided upon an official expression in defining its attitude with regard to the War. There have been differences in the expressions of opinion

on the attitude towards the War from different platforms and from different organisations, particularly from the Congress. However much we may try to belittle the Congress, it is an organisation that has been recognised by the British Parliament and by Britishers. It is the most active organisation in India. It is no use for me or for the Coalition Party to belittle it. We have seen that at the time when Partition of Bengal came, it was backed up by Muhammadans but opposed by the then Congress organisation. In spite of the whole-hearted support of Muhammadans, in spite of the Jamalpur riots, in spite of the attempts of the then Muslim leaders like Nawab Bahadur Sir Salimullah of Dacca and Nawab Nawab Ali Chowdhury this Partition of Bengal was annulled by constitutional agitation, or I should say by unconstitutional agitation of the Congress and the Hindus of Bengal. So you cannot say that the Congress, although they are in a minority and the Muhammadans are in a majority in this House, are not powerful. They are powerful. When the Leader of the Opposition was speaking on his amendment yesterday with an emphatic note, he was listened to by all, including the European members and His Excellency the Governor——

(Voice from Congress benches: Where was His Excellency? It was Her Excellency.)

Yes, Her Excellency was present.....

Mr. SPEAKER: There should not be any mention of His Excellency or Her Excellency in the speech.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: All right, Sir. The Leader of the Opposition was referring to the war aims and the manoeuvres which were displayed by British statesmen at the time of the last war but we may leave out the past and deal with the present. I appeal to the Leader of the Opposition that if we are all united—(the Congress organization and also other organizations)—in our sympathy for Poland and in our detestation of the ruthless military policy of Nazi Germany, then and then only there will be an active sympathy. A sympathy has got to be active and that can only be in the nature of help which we can render in the present crisis. We are a people who have got no military strength of our own. We cannot render effective help in the shape of military assistance. There is another aspect of the question. Indians who count, I mean the Indian States who can really render help, are supporting unconditionally. The Punjab military people have offered unconditional support. They are ready to go to war at any cost for loyalty or unemployment. Even in this House and in the Council some landlords of Bengal have offered unconditional support. So under these circumstances, I appeal to the

House, and especially to the Leader of the Opposition to pause for a moment to consider whether it would not be waste of our time to say that we are not going to support so long as our wishes are not complied with, viz., unless there is a clear and unequivocal declaration that we should be granted Dominion Status either as implemented by the Statute of Westminster or otherwise. You will find that the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has also made the same demand. Therefore so far as the demand is concerned it is the same and the only difference between Congress demand and Government party demand is that the former one is a little fretful and the other is graceful. That is the only difference. I have read all the resolutions—the resolution of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, and the Leader of the Opposition and the Government Resolution. In the first place the Leader of the Opposition has sought to show that the Government of India had done wrong in not consulting the people when their people were sent to strategic points but that is rather a complaint that has been voiced. As a matter of fact so far as support is concerned I don't think the Congress has ever refused support or they have said that they do not sympathise with the war aims of the British Government. Secondly my esteemed friend the Leader of the Opposition has tried to show that the war aims of 1914 were not correct. But so far as the present aims are concerned, the justice for which Britain and France are fighting, I may say that it has not been questioned by them. It is admitted that there is justice of the cause for which Britain, France and Poland are fighting and they ought to have our fullest support. The question is when the British Government is actively engaged in prosecuting the war whether it is really practicable to say, if we are asked for co-operation, that we will not co-operate unless such and such things are given to us! As I have already said there has been unconditional support from other quarters—from the Indian States, from the Punjab military people.

The aim of the Congress resolution and that of the Government is same, the only difference is, one is couched gracefully and the other is couched with conditions. I do not say that the demand of the Congress is unreasonable but I say it is not seasoned with grace. In my humble opinion when we are prepared to support the war, it is not proper to make the support conditional.

I may refer to a few words which were referred to by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee from Lord Curzon in this connection. To demand the application of war aims to India was not regarded by Lord Curzon as improper or untimely is proved by the quotation read. I do not quarrel with this as coming from a politician but I contend such a demand in time of friend's need is not moral. He said long before that the Indian minorities should be given some sort of guarantee or

promise and the Government resolution also provides for safeguards for the minority communities. So I don't think there is much tangible difference between the two resolusions.

Now, Sir, coming to what Dr. Syamapasad Mookerjee has said about the military training of Bengalis, I may say that it is true that Bengalis have been declared a non-martial race. It is true Bengal have not been given facilities, not only the Bengali Hindus but even the Muslims who were Pathans, who were really martial races and came from the up-country, have been denied the same facilities as are enjoyed by the Punjabis. In Bengal even the constables are recruited from martial races of up-country. This proposition is quite true, but is it the time to stand on British accusation. The Government resolution has been sought to be amended by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and he says that "in order to secure the full co-operation of the people of Bengal facilities should be afforded to the Bengalis for military training, etc." "Government should establish Military schools" and so on and so forth. Sir, is it fair to make such a demand before giving support to the British Government in the prosecution of the war? If I demand that there should be established a Military Training College at once in Bengal, it would not be possible, physically and financially and that means indirectly refusing co-operation. So I think for practical purposes the resolution that has been moved by the Leader of the House is an all-embracing one and contains the wishes and aspirations for self-determination and independence of this country.

Babu NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTY: এটা যদি না শোনেন গভর্ণমেন্ট তাহলে আমরা কি কোরবো ? আপনার মতটা কি তাই শুনি।

Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: I thank you for the suggestion. That has not been stated by anybody. Nobody has suggested that unless the Government does it we will refuse co-operation. Nobody has said that, nor the amendments. So for practical purposes the demand is there in the resolution moved by Government. The demand for the Dominion Status as defined by the Statute of Westminster is there and the safeguards for the recognised minorities are also there. So there is practically no difference between the resolution of Government and some of the amendments that have been moved. The sentence "in order to secure the full co-operation such and such things should be done" is made a condition precedent whereas in the Government resolution it has not been made a condition precedent; it contains a mere request to the British Parliament. Sooner or later those good statesmen of England or Parliamentarians would

certainly take note of the fact that there has been a united demand for Dominion Status by the Bengal Assembly and other Assemblies and organizations led by the Congress. The only question is that the Coalition Party at the present moment in this Assembly have not been able to reconcile their ideas with the ideas of the Congress. So my submission to this House is that they should not press their amendments as it after all would be simply a verbal wrangle or a useless controversy.

Another aspect of the question is this. You yourselves admit that you are not really a partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. (A VOICE FROM THE CONGRESS BENCHES: "We are slaves.") You are not. Well, yours is still a dependent country. You are still dependent on Great Britain for your own defence because you are so very helpless. Suppose the British Government goes away today what will you do for your defence? You yourself will invite the British Government to guard your shores. This is a fact and you have got to admit it. At present you have got to decide your mind. What will you do? Are you prepared to let go the British Government and defend your country yourselves? Certainly, I should say, you cannot. What of the two you will choose—between the British Constitution as it is worked in India today on the one hand and the Nazi rule in Germany or the Russian Bolshevism on the other? If it is a question of choice you will have to make the choice between these two sets of constitutions. You may say, Englishmen are very bad; the British Government has not done what it ought to kave been done. I take it at that. But if there is any choice between Hitlerism, and your British Constitution in spite of all its defects, you cannot but come to the conclusion that you want British Government to succeed in the prosecution of this war and Hitlerism to fail. If that be so, and if you want Hitler to be defeated you cannot deny co-operation. Another aspect of the matter is this. The British Government as an Imperial Government can command all your resources by one stroke of pen but such a command is not necessary as we are all loyal citizens and even at the wish of the Government most of our loyal people are prepared to place all their resources in every kind available at the disposal of the British Government. This being so, there is no use pressing these amendments when the Government resolution embraces all the views contained in the different amendments.

With these words, Sir, I support the Government resolution.

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: Sir, I beg to move that in paragraph III of the War resolution insert the words "especially the Anglo-Indian community" after the word "minorities."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Britain being at war I rise to support wholeheartedly the war resolution now before the House and in doing so, I wish to point out that it is the sacred duty of every man to protect his home and country, and therefore it follows that every man within the British Empire, who enjoys the rights and privileges of British Citizenship should rally round the flag and unconditionally help the King-Emperor in the prosecution and success of the war. To fail in this is to help the enemy, and we might ask the same question as Mr. Gandhi did "What will our self-government or independence be worth if England and France fall"? The British Empire and France are at war with Germany to prevent unprovoked aggression—to prevent the powerful German nation from taking back under its dominion the smaller and weaker States that were liberated and granted the right of self-determination after the last Great War. Consequently we find the Russians standing aloof from the major conflict and taking advantage of the position thus created in turn occupying by force of arms their pre-war States, first East Poland and then Finland, and who can say, before long Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and then why not India, if England is hard pressed in Europe and India stands divided as she is now. I ask, Sir, if India worked in harmony within the British Empire and if Britain were able to exercise her full strength in the League of Nations, to arbitrate over all matters, would the European crisis have developed to such dimensions? Would Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland be invaded and taken possession of? And would Italy have conquered Abyssinia and taken Albania? Would Japan have overrun China as she has done? It seems to me that all this is due to the unrest in India. The British Empire with disorder in our midst, has been prevented from taking action earlier and now that she has entered the war to try and save Poland, we still find India divided and a party trying to extract terms from Britain. Now this is not fair. It is not playing the game and certainly not teamwork. A demand for independence means that Britain has to sacrifice the minorities. The Muslims are naturally putting up a fight for the best possible terms. But the question arises, who is to see that the terms are fulfilled, and what guarantee is there that the terms will be respected by the parties concerned. We should keep the League of Nations and Europe before us, and learn a lesson and should avoid serious trouble in India. Therefore, Sir, it becomes imperative to have Britain, the Paramount Power, as the third party present in the agreement between the majority and the minorities. But as the war is on, let us for the present sink our differences for the good of India, Britain and the Empire, and carry on with the war. We are aware of the response made by the Colonies and the Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and even South Africa. We are aware of the offer made by the Princes and the leaders of the great political parties in India, but it is for India to speak and act as one. We want no internal strife that will weaken and destroy our position.

With order in India and a united British Empire we can meet force with force and aggression with aggression and send out a most formidable army to Europe and keep a strong force in India to meet Russian invasion.

With the cream of the British Army in India available, and the Indian Army, the finest Colonial troops that have existed in the world since Rome raised her legions, we should bring the war to a far quicker and successful end.

It is gratifying to find that the Congress Ministers have resigned. This will prevent party feelings from spreading and it is to be hoped that in the future the great Hindu Community will emerge with broader views of democracy, and that they will take into consideration the importance of each community, and if one's importance is out of all proportion to its size, due consideration will be made for that community, and in this category I include the Anglo-Indian and the Domiciled European community. We want to see Cabinets with Hindus, Muslims, Europeans and Anglo-Indians, so that we may have a fair representation of the people and together attain Dominion Status, as defined in the Statute of Westminister, a free country in the Commonwealth of free nations within the British Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS : সভাপতি মহাশয়, আমি আমাদের দলের নেতা শরৎবাবুর সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব সমর্থন কোর্‌ছি এবং গভর্ণমেন্ট যে প্রস্তাব উপস্থিত কোরেছেন সেটার বিরোধিতা কোর্‌ছি। আমার বক্তব্য বলবার জন্য আমি, গভর্ণমেন্টের যে প্রস্তাব এখানে আছে তার তৃতীয় খণ্ড থেকে আমি আরম্ভ কোর্‌ছি। গভর্ণমেন্টের প্রস্তাবের তৃতীয় খণ্ডের প্রথম অংশ যে সত্য নয় তা আগে অনেক বক্তা ভাল রকমেই বুঝিয়েছেন। বৃটিশ গভর্ণমেন্টের ঘোষণা শুনে আমরা কখনো বুঝি নাই যে বৃটিশ গভর্ণমেন্ট অন্য কোন রাষ্ট্রের মঙ্গলের জন্য যুদ্ধ কোর্‌ছে বা যুদ্ধের পরে আমাদের স্বায়ত্বশাসন দিবে। ইংরেজ তার সাম্রাজ্যবাদ ও শোষণবাদ বজায় রাখবার জন্যই যুদ্ধ কোর্‌ছে, এবং এর অবশ্যম্ভাবী ফল ভারতের নিগড় বন্ধন আরো শক্ত হবে। দরিদ্র ভারতবাসীর দারিদ্র আরো বাড়বে। দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকা, ক্যানাডা বা অষ্ট্রেলিয়ার সঙ্গে এক পর্য্যায়ভুক্ত কখনো ইংরাজের অধীনে থাকা কালীন ভারত হইবে না। তবে যদি ইংরাজ পরাস্ত হয়—তাহলে সে সম্ভাবনা আছে। একথা বৃটিশ মন্ত্রীরা বা বড়লাট বাহাদুর কখনই বলেন নাই যে যুদ্ধান্তে ভারতবাসীকে স্বায়ত্বশাসন দেওয়া হবে বা ভারতবাসীর হাতে অধিকতর শাসন ক্ষমতা তাঁরা দিবেন। তাঁরা বলেছেন যুদ্ধান্তে একটা গোল-টেবিল বৈঠক বসান হবে যাহাতে ইংরেজ গভর্ণমেন্টের মনোনীত ব্যক্তিরা—যারা দারিদ্রহীন, দেশের দীন, দুঃখী নিপীড়িত শতকরা ৯৫ জনের সহিত যোগাযোগহীন, অভিজাত সম্প্রদায়ের লোক তারাই যে যাবেন তাহাতে আমাদের কোন সন্দেহ নাই। তাঁহারা ইংরেজদের সহিত একত্রে ব'সে স্থির কর্‌বেন ভারত শাসন আইনের কি কি পরিবর্ত্তন সমীচিন এই মাত্র। গোল টেবিল বৈঠকের বিষয় অভিজ্ঞতা আমাদের

আছে। এরূপ প্রস্তাব শুধু যে আমাদের ক্ষতিকর তাহা নয় অপমানজনকও। গত গোল-টেবিল বৈঠকে ইংরেজ কতকগুলি তথাকথিত নেতাকে নিমন্ত্রণ করে নিয়ে নানা ভাবে তাহাদের মধ্যে complication সৃষ্টি ক'রে তাদেরকে বিপর্যস্ত ও অপদস্থ করে তবে ছেড়ে দিলেন এবং এমনভাবে একটা খিচুড়ী আইন কর্‌লেন যাহা এদেশের সকল শ্রেণীর ও সম্প্রদায়ের নিন্দনীয় হল। এবার দেখছি এ গভর্ণমেণ্ট সেইরূপ মনোনীত সদস্যের গোল-টেবিল বৈঠকই সমর্থন কর্‌ছে। দেশের অভিজাত শ্রেণীকে দরিদ্রের প্রতিনিধি নির্ব্বাচন করার আমরা তীব্র নিন্দা করে আস্‌ছি এবং সেই সকল প্রতিনিধিদের পরামর্শ নিয়ে শাসন তন্ত্র রচিত হবে এ আমরা চাই না। আমরা চাই ভারতবাসীরা ভারতের শাসন তন্ত্র রচনা করবে এবং যারা শাসন তন্ত্র রচনা কর্‌বে তারা হবে ভারতের যারা শতকরা ৯৫ জন তাদের ভিতর থেকে; তাদের দ্বারা নির্ব্বাচিত প্রতিনিধি। গভর্ণমেণ্টকে আমরা এ ক্ষমতা কখনই দিতে চাই না যে তারা জমিদারকে প্রজার প্রতিনিধি সাজান, ধনিককে মজুরদের স্বার্থরক্ষার জন্য নিয়োজিত করেন।

"কি যাতনা বিষে, বুঝিবে সে কিসে
কভু আশি বিষে, দংশেনি যারে।"

তাই আমরা চাই ভারতবাসীর গণভোটে নির্ব্বাচিত প্রতিনিধি দ্বারা রচিত শাসনতন্ত্র যারা সংখ্যায় অল্প যাদের উপর সংখ্যাধিকের অত্যাচার ও অবিচার হয়ে থাকে যাদের নিজের বলে বিপক্ষের বিরুদ্ধে আত্মরক্ষার ক্ষমতা নাই সেই সকল সম্প্রদায়ের স্বার্থ যাতে রক্ষিত হয় তার বিশেষ ব্যবস্থা সেই শাসনতন্ত্রে থাকবে। তাই বলে যারা শোষক ধনিক ও সর্ব্ববিধ সুবিধা-ভোগী সেই সকল সম্প্রদায়ের—যথা ইংরেজ, বনিক, জমিদার, মহাজন প্রভৃতিদের বিশেষ ব্যবস্থার কোন প্রয়োজন নাই বলিয়াই তাহাদের কোন রক্ষা কবজের কথা উঠিতে পারিবে না। আর আমরা চাই এমন শাসনতন্ত্র যাহাতে বিশেষ অনুজ্ঞা থাকিবে যে এ দেশে কোন লোক কোন দিন অনাহারে থাকিবে না। অসুস্থ হলে চিকিৎসার অসুবিধা হবে না এবং লোকের দারিদ্র্যের কারণ হইয়া কেহ ধনার্জ্জন বা সঞ্চয় করিতে পারিবে না। এবং কাহারও মৌলিক অধিকার কোনমতে ক্ষুন্ন হবে না।

এ রাষ্ট্রে হিন্দু, মুসলমান, খৃষ্টান বলিয়া কোন সুবিধা বা অসুবিধার ব্যবস্থা বা অব্যবস্থা থাকিবে না এখানে থাকিবে ধনীর বিরুদ্ধে দরিদ্রের রক্ষার ব্যবস্থা। শোষকের বিরুদ্ধে শোষিতের রক্ষার ব্যবস্থা। সবলের বিরুদ্ধে দুর্ব্বলের রক্ষার ব্যবস্থা। সুবিধাভোগীদের বিরুদ্ধে দুর্ভাগাদের রক্ষার ব্যবস্থা। আজকে সাম্প্রদায়িক ব্যবস্থায় দেখা যায় উহা অস্বাভাবিক উপায়ে অভিজাত শ্রেণীর প্রাধান্য ও নেতৃত্ব দরিদ্র ও নিরক্ষরদের উপর জোর বজায় রাখবার কৌশল মাত্র। ধর্ম্ম ও সাম্প্রদায়িকতার নামে দরিদ্র ও অশিক্ষিতকে শোষনের উপায় মাত্র। যুগযুগ ধরিয়া নানাবিধ কৌশলে ধর্ম্মের নামে যে উন্মত্ততা ও দুর্ব্বলতা সাধারণ লোকের মনে সৃষ্টি করা হয়েছে উহার সুযোগ লইবার সুবিধাভোগীদের কৌশল মাত্র। তা না হলে কোটীপতি বিড়লা-দের সঙ্গে আমার স্বার্থের বৈষম্য থাকা সত্বেও তাদের নেতৃত্ব মানবার মত দুর্ব্বলতা আসিবে কেন?

পাশের গ্রামের দবিরুদ্দি সেখ ধনীর দুলাল জিন্না সাহেবের কতোয়ায় নাচিয়া উঠিবে কেন, আর আমার ভাই মণ্ডল মহাশয় ধনী রাজামহাশয়ের নেতৃত্বই বা স্বীকার করিবে কেন? তাই গভর্ণমেন্টের প্রস্তাবে স্বার্থভোগীদের যে বিশেষ সুবিধার বন্দোবস্তের কথা আছে আমি তাহার তীব্র প্রতিবাদ করি। যে শাসনতন্ত্র রচিত হবে তাহাতে ভারতবাসীদের আত্মনিয়ন্ত্রণের ব্যবস্থা থাক্‌বে। আমাদের দ্বারা দেশের আয় ব্যয়, যুদ্ধ বিগ্রহ, শান্তি, ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্য বহির্জগতের সহিত সম্পর্ক নির্ণয় প্রভৃতি যাবতীয় ক্ষমতার পরিচালনের ব্যবস্থা থাকিবে।

আমরা যে আজ দুর্ব্বল, ভগ্ন-স্বাস্থ্য, অল্পায়ু, দরিদ্র নিপীড়িত ও শোষিত তার কারণ আমরা পরাধীন। আমাদের আজ নিজেদের স্বাস্থ্যবিধি নিয়ন্ত্রণের যথেষ্ট ব্যবস্থা করবার ক্ষমতা নাই। শিক্ষার উপযুক্ত এবং প্রয়োজনীয় ব্যবস্থা করবার অর্থ নাই। নদী, নালা, বিল উদ্ধারের উপায় নাই। শিল্প বাণিজ্য বাজার ও দ্রব্যমূল্য নিজেদের প্রয়োজনানুসারে পরিচালনার সুবিধা নাই। কারণ বৃটিশ গভর্ণমেন্ট সে ক্ষমতা আমাদের দেন নাই। আমাদের কর্ম্মচারী নিয়ন্ত্রণ ও শাসন, তাহাদের বেতন নির্দ্ধারণ সৈন্য সংখ্যা বাড়ান বা কমান বা আমাদের প্রয়োজনানুরূপ পরিচালন ক্ষমতা আমাদের দেশবাসীর হাতে নাই। অন্যদেশের সহিত সম্পর্ক নির্ণয়ের ও ক্ষমতা আমাদের দেশের নাই। ফলে আমাদের টাকা চলিয়া যায়, আমাদের স্বাস্থ্য চলিয়া যায়, আমাদের শিক্ষা চাপা পড়িয়া থাকে, এ অবস্থা যে অসহ্য তাহা কি অনুভব করি না? কারা এ অবস্থা আমাদের করেছে? কারা আজ আমাদের কপালে depressed হীন বা ছোট লোকের টিপ পরিয়ে দিয়েছে। আমাদের অভিভাবক বলে দাবী করেও কে আজ ২০০ বছরেও আমাদের মধ্যে শিক্ষার আলোক আনতে পারে নাই এবং সকলের কৃপাপাত্র করে রেখেছে? ইহারা কি আমাদের trustee সেই ইংরেজ মহাপ্রভুরা নয়? আমাদের দুঃখে, দারিদ্র্যে, রোগে, শোকে যে শাসক সম্প্রদায় আনন্দ অনুভব করেছে এবং শান্তির নিশ্বাস ছেড়েছে তাদের বিপদে আজ আমাদের বিপদ জ্ঞান আসে কি প্রকারে? তবে গত অবস্থার প্রতিকার স্বরূপ যদি স্বাধীনতা এরা আমাদের দেন তবে বন্ধুরূপে আমরা তাদের বিপদের অংশ গ্রহণ করতে রাজি থাক্‌তে পারি। আমরা স্বাধীনতা চাই, গণতন্ত্রের ভিত্তিতে যাহাতে প্রত্যেক ব্যক্তি যত দরিদ্রই সে হউক দেশ শাসনে তার অধিকার থাক্‌বে। দেশের শাসন ব্যাপারে তার সুখ দুঃখের কথাই আস্‌বে সকলের আগে এবং তাদের ইচ্ছানুযায়ীই শাসনকার্য্য পরিচালিত হবে। বর্ত্তমানের মত ধনিক তন্ত্র, আমলা তন্ত্র বা বিদেশী শোষকদের স্বৈরতন্ত্র বা সাম্রাজ্যবাদ থাক্‌বে না।

এরূপভাবে দেশ শাসনের ক্ষমতা আমরা পাইলে আমরা বিবেচনা করতে পারি আমরা ইংরেজের বিপদে কিরূপ সাহায্য করব। এ না হলে গভর্ণমেন্ট প্রস্তাবের ২য় খণ্ডের সাহায্যের প্রস্তাব আমরা কিছুতেই সমর্থন কোরতে পারি না। চাল নাই তরোয়াল নাই নিধিরাম সর্দ্দার। আমরা সাহায্য করব কি করে? আমাদিগকে নিরস্ত্র করে, পঙ্গু করে রেখে তারা যে সাহায্য চায় তাদের লজ্জা করে না। আমাদের যারা ক্রীতদাস করে রেখেছে আমাদের যথা সর্ব্বস্ব যারা শোষণ করেছে তাদের যারা সাহায্য করতে চায় তারা যে কত বড় নির্লজ্জ, আত্মসম্মানজ্ঞানহীন ইহা ভাবিতেও লজ্জা হয়।

আর সাহায্য করতে হলে, গভর্ণমেণ্টের জনহিতকর কাজ বন্ধ করতে হবে। P.W.D. works already stopped হয়েছে। নূতন tax দরিদ্রদের উপর চাপাতে হ'বে। এদেশবাসীকে আরও নিষ্পেষণ ও শোষণ করতে হ'বে।

এই ভাবে যে সাহায্য করব কিসের জন্য? আমাদের ভবিষ্যৎ কি? আমাদের যুবকগণ যে যুদ্ধে প্রাণ দিবে তাহাদের কি ভবিষ্যত? ইংরেজ ও ফরাসী যুবকদের মত তাহাদের গৌরব করবার কি আছে বা থাকবে? ইংরেজ-ফরাসী যুবকেরা তাদের মাতৃভূমির জন্য, মা, বোনদের ইজ্জতের জন্য, নিজেদের অস্তিত্বের জন্য যুদ্ধ করছে, প্রাণ দিচ্ছে, ইহাতে তাহাদের তৃপ্তি আছে, গৌরব আছে, উজ্জ্বল ভবিষ্যতের আশা আছে। আমাদের যুবকদের কি আছে? তাদের ভবিষ্যৎ অন্ধকার, বর্ত্তমান ত অন্ধকার আছেই। যাহারা তাহাদের যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে পাঠাবে বা দেশের উপর নূতন করভার চাপাবে বা চাপাতে সাহায্য করবে, তারা হয়ত বড় বড় উপাধি বা বড় বড় চাকুরী পেয়ে নির্লজ্জ গোলামীতে আনন্দ পাবে। কিন্তু যারা মরবে বা মরতে যাবে বা ট্যাক্সের চাপে আর্ত্তনাদ করবে তাদের কি হবে, বরং ইংরেজ জিতিলে যুদ্ধান্তে তাদের ক্ষতি এ-দেশের উপর থেকে পূরণ করে নেবার চেষ্টা করবে। এমতাবস্থায় সাহায্যের কথা উঠে কি করে ভেবেই পাই না।

(At this stage the speaker reached the time-limit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Biswas your time is up.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: May I have, Sir, just two minutes to finish my speech?

Mr. SPEAKER: You can well realise the difficulty on the part of others. You are only reading your written speech. However you can have two minutes.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: তা ছাড়া আমাদের দেশের লোকের কি প্রয়োজন এ-যুদ্ধে আছে। এভাবে ধনপ্রাণ উৎসর্গ করার কি সার্থকতাই বা আমাদের মত ক্রীতদাসদের থাকতে পারে। বিগত বুয়র যুদ্ধে সহস্র সহস্র ভারতবাসী ইংরাজের সাহায্যকল্পে ধন প্রাণ দিয়েছিল। তার প্রতিদানে তারা পেয়েছিল কি? যুগ যুগ ধরে দক্ষিন আফ্রিকায় ভারতবাসীদের উপর যে অত্যাচার চলে আসছে তা বেড়েছে বই কমে নাই। গত মহাযুদ্ধে লক্ষ লক্ষ ভারত যুবক ইউরোপে ও এসিয়াটিকের ও আরব দেশে ইংরাজের রক্ষাকল্পে প্রাণ দিয়েছে। একথা ইংরাজেরাও স্বীকার করেছে যে, যদি দুর্দ্দিনে ভারত সৈন্য তাদের সঙ্গে যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে না থাকলে ইংরাজের যুদ্ধ জয়ের কোন সম্ভাবনা ছিল না। কোটী কোটী টাকা দিয়েও ভারত গত মহাযুদ্ধে ইংরাজকে সাহায্য করেছে। নিজেদের দারিদ্রের উপর আরও ৫/১০ গুণ দারিদ্র বরণ

কোরে নিয়ে গত যুদ্ধে ভারতবাসীরা ইংরাজের মান ইজ্জত, ধন-প্রাণ রক্ষা করেছে কিন্তু তার প্রতিদানে ইংরাজেরা যুদ্ধকালীন স্বেচ্ছাকৃত প্রতিশ্রুতি পর্যন্ত যুদ্ধান্তে বিস্মৃত হয়েছে। স্বাধীনতার প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়ে আমাদিগকে অধীনতার পাশে আরও শক্ত কোরে আটকান হয়েছে। শোষিত এদেশের উপর আরও শোষণ চালিয়ে নিজেদের অবস্থা তারা ভাল কোরে নিয়েছে। এ-যুদ্ধে সাহায্য কোর্‌লেও ফল হবে সেই একই। যুদ্ধান্তে ইংরাজেরা তাদের ক্ষতিপূরণ কোর্‌বে এদেশকেই অধিকতর শোষণ করে। সাহায্য দিলেও যা কোর্‌বে না দিলেও তাই কর্‌বে। আর এমন কোন কৃতজ্ঞতায় তারা আমাদিগকে ফেল্‌তে পারে নাই যার জন্য আমরা যাব আমাদের ধন ও প্রাণ দিয়ে তাদের সাহায্য কোর্‌তে।

গভর্ণমেণ্ট প্রস্তাবের প্রথম খণ্ডে দুর্ব্বল ও ছোট ছোট রাষ্ট্রসমূহের স্বাধীনতা ও আত্মনিয়ন্ত্রণের ক্ষমতারক্ষাকল্পে এবং জগতে গণতন্ত্র বজায় রাখিবার জন্য ইংরাজ ও ফরাসীরা নাজী জার্ম্মাণীর বিরুদ্ধে যে অস্ত্রধারণ করেছে সেজন্য তাহাদের প্রতি সহানুভূতি এবং তাহাদিগকে ধন্যবাদ দেওয়ার কথা আছে। তদুপরি ইউরোপের ডিক্টেটর-শাসিত দেশসমূহের অন্যায় আক্রমণমূলক ব্যবহারের জন্য তাহাদের নিন্দার যে সুর জগতে উঠেছে, আমরা সে সুরে সুর মিলাব সে কথাও আছে। আমরা যদি এ খণ্ড ভাল ভাবে আলোচনা করে দেখি, তা'হলে দেখতে পাই যে, এই খণ্ডের এই মূলাদ্দ একেবারে অসত্যের উপর প্রতিষ্ঠিত। প্রথমতঃ ইংরাজ কোন কোন ছোট বা দুর্ব্বল রাষ্ট্রের রক্ষার জন্য অস্ত্রধারণ করে নাই। পোলাণ্ডের জন্যে ত আদৌ নয়। যদি তাই হত তা'হলে আবিসিনিয়া ও এলবেনিয়া আক্রমণ ও অধিকারের জন্য তারা ইতালীর বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা করে নাই কেন? তৎকালীন বৃটীশ ও ফরাসী পররাষ্ট্র-সচিবগণ ইতালীর সঙ্গে মিলিয়া আবিসিনিয়া ভাগাভাগির যে পরিকল্পনা করেছিলেন তাকি জগত ভুলে গেছে? তারপর আবিসিনিয়া ও আলবেনিয়ার বিপদে ইংরাজ ও ফরাসীরা উহাদিগকে কোন সাহায্যই করে নাই। স্পেনে যখন গণতান্ত্রিক গভর্ণমেণ্ট ইতালী ও জার্ম্মাণীর সাহায্যপুষ্ট স্বৈরতান্ত্রিক ফ্রাঙ্কোর বিদ্রোহে বিধ্বস্ত ও দুর্ব্বল হয়ে পড়ছিল তখন ইংরাজ সেখানে কোন সাহায্য পাঠায় নাই কেন? বরং গভর্ণমেণ্ট পক্ষকে কোনরূপ অস্ত্র-শস্ত্র বা খাদ্য-বিক্রয়ে অস্বীকার করে তাদের পতনের কারণ হয়েছিল। তারপর জার্ম্মাণী যখন অস্ট্রিয়া দখল করলে তখনও ত ইংরাজ তার কোন প্রতিবাদ করলে না। বরং ইংরাজ ও ফরাসী রাষ্ট্রের বন্ধু জেকোস্লোভাকিয়ার উপর যখন জার্ম্মাণীর তর্জ্জন গর্জ্জন চল্‌ছিল তখন গণতন্ত্রের ভক্তেরা জার্ম্মাণ পক্ষ নিয়ে জেকদেশের সুদেতানল্যাণ্ড ও অন্যান্য ভাল ভাল অঞ্চলগুলি জার্ম্মাণীকে দিয়ে দিলেন। ইহার পর যখন জার্ম্মাণী সমস্ত দেশটা দখল করে বস্‌লে তখনও ইংরাজেরা এর কোন উপযুক্ত প্রতিবাদ করলেন না। জার্ম্মাণী যদি ইংরাজদের কাছ থেকে তাদের কলোনী দাবী করত তা হলে পোল্যাণ্ড দখল করে নিলেও ইংরাজ কোন উচ্চবাচ্য কোরত না। ইংরাজ এ যুদ্ধে নেমেছে তার স্বার্থের জন্য এবং ইংল্যাণ্ডের নিরাপত্তার জন্য। ইংরাজ যখন জান্‌ল যে কলোনী দখল করবার জন্য জার্ম্মাণীর ইংরাজ-রাজ্য আক্রমণ করবার সময় এসেছে, তখনি সে ফরাসীকে সঙ্গে নিয়ে জার্ম্মাণীর বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা কোরলে। তা না হলে পোল্যাণ্ডের পতন হওয়ার পরও

এবং উহার অর্দ্ধেক রাসিয়ার কবলস্থ হওয়া সত্বেও অদ্যাবধি যুদ্ধ চল্‌ছে কেন? পোল্যাণ্ডের দুর্দ্দশা আর রাসিয়াকে পরাস্ত না কোরে ফিরে পাবার সম্ভাবনা নাই। কিন্তু এখনও তা'হলে রাসিয়ার বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা করা হয় নাই কেন? ফিনল্যাণ্ডকে আক্রমণ করার পরও রাসিয়া ইংরাজের মিত্র রয়েছে কি প্রকারে?

এসিয়ার দিকে তাকালে দেখা যায়, চীনদেশে জাপানের যে তাণ্ডবলীলা চল্‌ছে তাহাতে ইংরাজের স্বার্থেও আঘাত কম লাগে নাই। ইংরাজ রমণীগণকে পর্য্যন্ত সেখানে কি রকম বেইজ্জত হতে হচ্ছে এ খবরও জগতে ছড়িয়েছে। তথাপি দুর্ব্বল চীনকে সাহায্যকল্পে গণতন্ত্রের পরম ভক্ত সাধু চেম্বারলেনানন্দ একটী হুমকীও দিতেছেন না কেন?

সমস্ত কথা একের পর এক এসে যখন চিন্তারাজ্য জুড়ে বসে, তখন কোন সন্দেহ থাকে না ইংরাজ বাহাদুরদের উদ্দেশ্য সম্বন্ধে। তদুপরি তাদের ভারতের প্রতি যে ব্যবহার হয়ে আসছে তা যখন ভাবি, তখন ধাপ্পাবাজ ইংরাজ গভর্ণমেণ্টের প্রতি কোন সহানুভূতিই থাকে না, বরং তাদের পতনের কামনাই মনে আসে। দুর্ব্বল রাষ্ট্র ও গণতন্ত্ররক্ষাই যদি ইংরাজের উদ্দেশ্য হয় তবে দুর্ব্বল ভারতবর্ষের গণতন্ত্রের দাবী বার বার প্রত্যাখ্যাত হচ্ছে কেন? কাজেই আমাদের সহানুভূতি এবার ইংরাজের প্রতি কোনরূপেই আসতে পারে না। আমাদের সহানুভূতি পৃথিবীর সকল অত্যাচারিত ও দুর্ব্বল জাতির প্রতিই আছে। আমরা চাই পৃথিবীর সকল জাতিই স্বাধীন থাকুক। কোন জাতি বা রাষ্ট্রই অপর কোন রাষ্ট্রের অধীন থাকিবে না।

সন্ধির এক প্রস্তাবের উত্তরে হিটলার বলেছিলেন যে, ইংরাজ যদি গণতন্ত্রের ভক্ত এবং দুর্ব্বল ও ন্যায়ের রক্ষাকর্ত্তা তা'হলে তারা ভারতবর্ষকে মুক্তি দি'ক্, দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকা বুয়রদের ছেড়ে দি'ক্, কানাডা ফরাসীদের ছেড়ে দি'ক্, প্যালেষ্টাইন ও মিশরের পূর্ণ স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণা করুক তা'হলে তিনিও ইংরাজের শান্তির প্রস্তাব মেনে নিয়ে পোল্যাণ্ড ও জেকল্যাণ্ড ছেড়ে দিবেন। কই দুর্ব্বলের বন্ধুরা গণতন্ত্রের পূজারীরা এ পর্য্যন্ত তাহার কোন জবাব দিতেছেন না কেন? কংগ্রেসের পক্ষ হতে যুদ্ধের উদ্দেশ্য এবং এর ফল ভারতে কি হবে তাহা পরিষ্কার কোরতে যে দাবী জানান হয়েছিল তার উত্তর দিতে ইংরাজ নারাজ হলেন কেন? স্বাধীনতা ও গণতন্ত্রের ভক্ত সেজে ভারত, ব্রহ্ম, প্যালেষ্টাইন, ইরাক, মিশর প্রভৃতি দেশকে যে পদানত রাখা চলে না, ইংরাজ ইহা বোঝে বলেই কোন জবাব দিচ্ছে না। এ যুদ্ধেও সাম্রাজ্যবাদ বা পরদেশ-শোষণনীতি ভিন্ন ইংরাজের যে আর কোন উদ্দেশ্য নাই, ইহাতে আর কোন সন্দেহ নাই।

এই সকল কারণে আমি গভর্ণমেণ্টের যে প্রস্তাব প্রধানমন্ত্রী মহাশয় এনেছেন তার বিরোধিতা করছি এবং যে সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব আমাদের দলের নেতা শরৎবাবু move করেছেন তাহা সর্ব্বান্তঃকরণে সমর্থন করছি।

(After Mr. Basik Lal Biswas finished his speech nobody rose to speak.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I see nobody is willing to speak.

Moulvi MD. MOZAMMEL HUQ: মাননীয় সভামুখ্যমহোদয়, মাননীয় প্রধানমন্ত্রী সাহেব যুদ্ধসম্পর্কে যে প্রস্তাব আনিয়াছেন, তাহা সমর্থন করার জন্য আমি আজ দণ্ডায়মান হইয়াছি। গতকল্য হইতে এপর্য্যন্ত বহু বক্তা প্রস্তাবটির স্বপক্ষে এবং বিপক্ষে বহু বক্তৃতা প্রদান করিয়াছেন। এখন কোন্ পক্ষের মত আমাদের গ্রহণ করা উচিত, সে সম্বন্ধে আমি আলোচনা করিতে ইচ্ছা করি।

আমাদের বিপক্ষ দলপতি মিঃ শরৎচন্দ্র বসু গতকল্য একঘণ্টা ধরিয়া ইতিহাস, খাতাপত্র এবং নজীর দেখাইয়া প্রমাণ করিয়া দিয়াছেন যে, ইংরাজজাতি সাম্রাজ্যবাদী; তাহারা অতীব স্বার্থপর এবং স্বীয় স্বার্থ ছাড়া তাহারা কোন কাজ করে না। গত মহাযুদ্ধে ইংরাজজাতি পরের উপকারের ছলে যুদ্ধে নামিয়া যুদ্ধের পরে অন্যান্য জাতিকে ধাপ্পা দিয়া অনেক দেশ গ্রাস করিয়াছে। মিঃ বসু আরও বহু বিষয়ে বলিয়াছেন, যাহা বর্ণনা করিতে গেলে আমারও একঘণ্টা সময় লাগিবে। সে সময় এখন নাই। মোট কথা—গতকল্য তিনি যাহা বলিয়াছেন, তাহার মোটামুটি অর্থ বা সারমর্ম্ম এই যে, এমন যে একটা সাম্রাজ্যবাদী স্বার্থপর ইংরাজজাতি—তাহাকে বর্ত্তমান যুদ্ধে সাহায্য করা আমাদের কিছুতেই উচিত নহে। আমার পূর্ব্ববর্ত্তী বক্তা মিঃ রসিকলাল বিশ্বাস যাহা বলিয়াছেন, তাহাও আপনারা শুনিয়াছেন—তিনিও বলিয়াছেন, কি লাভ হইবে এই ইংরাজজাতিকে সাহায্য করিয়া? এই সব কারণে বুঝিতেছি, মাননীয় প্রধানমন্ত্রী সাহেব যে প্রস্তাব আনিয়াছেন, তাহাতে আমাদের বিপক্ষ কংগ্রেস দল নিরতিশয় দুঃখিত হইয়াছেন এবং প্রস্তাবের বিরুদ্ধাচরণ করিতেছেন।

কংগ্রেস পক্ষ থেকে যে সংশোধন প্রস্তাব আনা হইয়াছে, সে সম্বন্ধে বলা হইবে যে ইহাই প্রকৃত জাতীয়তাবাদী প্রস্তাব। এই সঙ্কটময় মুহূর্ত্তে দেশের জন্য যাহা করা উচিত, কংগ্রেস-দলের সংশোধন প্রস্তাবের উদ্দেশ্যের মধ্যে তাহা নিহিত আছে। আরও বলা হইবে যে মুসলমানেরা যে প্রস্তাব আনয়ন করিয়াছেন, তাহা ভারতের জাতীয়তার ঘোর পরিপন্থী। মুসলমানেরা ইংরাজের ধামাধরা, ইত্যাদি।

আমার পূর্ব্ববর্ত্তী বক্তা বলিয়াছেন, ইংরাজকে সাহায্য করিয়া কি লাভ হইবে? আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি—ইংরাজ কি আমাদের সাহায্যের বা সহযোগিতার পরোয়া করেন? তাঁহারা শুধু আমাদের নৈতিক সমর্থন চাহেন। তাঁহারা জগৎকে দেখাইতে চাহেন যে, এই যুদ্ধে তাঁহারা ভারতবর্ষের নৈতিক সমর্থন লাভ করিয়াছেন।

যুদ্ধে সাহায্য করার অর্থ কি? তাহার অর্থ জনবল এবং অর্থবল দিয়া যুদ্ধে সাহায্য করা, অর্থাৎ লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক দিয়া এবং কোটি কোটি টাকা দিয়া সাহায্য করা। কিন্তু সেই লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক এবং কোটি কোটি টাকা বাংলাদেশ হইতে দেওয়া যাইবে কি? সকলেই জানেন, তাহা দেওয়া যাইবে না। তার জন্য ইংরাজই দায়ী। ইংরাজ আজ প্রায় দেড়শত বৎসর ধরিয়া বাংলাদেশের উপর রাজত্ব করিতেছেন, কিন্তু বাঙ্গালীজাতিকে সামরিক শিক্ষা না দিয়া—যুদ্ধ করার জন্য উপযুক্ত সৈন্য না করিয়া পঙ্গু করিয়া রাখিয়াছেন।

ইংরাজ যদি বাঙ্গালী জাতিকে Military Training বা সামরিক শিক্ষা দিতেন, তাহা হইলে এই যুদ্ধে পাঁচ কোটি বাঙ্গালীর ভিতর হইতে অন্ততঃ পাঁচ লক্ষ সৈন্য পাওয়া যাইত (বিপক্ষ দল হইতে হাস্য)—এটা হাস্যের বিষয় নয়।

বিপক্ষ কংগ্রেস দল হইতে বলা হইয়াছে, ইংরাজকে সৈন্য দিয়া বা টাকা দিয়া সাহায্য করা হইবে না। কিন্তু আমি বলিতে চাহি যে, ভারত গভর্ণমেণ্ট বর্ত্তমান যুদ্ধের জন্য ভারত হইতে সৈন্য সংগ্রহ করিতে ইচ্ছা করিলে এবং মাসে ১৮৲ করিয়া বেতন দিতে চাহিলে, লক্ষ লক্ষ পাঞ্জাবী মুসলমান, পাঠান ও শিখ সৈন্য ইংরাজ পাইবে। তাহারা যুদ্ধের জন্য সৈন্যদলে ভর্ত্তি হওয়ার সময় বাঙ্গালীদের মত জিজ্ঞাসা করিতে আসিবে না। হয়ত বহু পাঞ্জাবী, পাঠান ও শিখ সৈন্য এই সময়মধ্যে সৈন্যদলে ভর্ত্তিও হইয়া গিয়াছে। আর টাকা? ভারত গভর্ণমেণ্ট যুদ্ধঋণের জন্য বিজ্ঞাপন প্রচার করিলে অতি অল্পসময়ের মধ্যে কোটি কোটি টাকা আদায় হইয়া যাইবে এবং আমার সামনের বেঞ্চে যে বিপক্ষ কংগ্রেস দল উপবিষ্ট রহিয়াছেন, এবং যাঁহারা এই প্রস্তাবের বিরুদ্ধাচরণ করিতেছেন, তাঁহাদের মধ্য হইতেই এই যুদ্ধঋণের বেশীর ভাগ টাকাটা উঠিয়া আসিবে (একজন কংগ্রেস সভ্যঃ না, না, আমাদের টাকা নাই)—আপনাদের টাকার কথা আমার বেশ জানা আছে। পূর্ব্বে একবার যখন গভর্ণমেণ্ট ১৪ কোটি টাকার জন্য ঋণপত্র প্রচার করেন, ৫ মিনিটের মধ্যেই ২৪ কোটিরও বেশী টাকার আবেদন গভর্ণমেণ্টের হাতে আসে এবং আপনাদের দলের ভিতর হইতেই সে টাকাটা আসিয়াছিল। কারণ মুসলমান ও অনুন্নত প্রভৃতি জাতির অংশের টাকাগুলি আপনারা যুগের পর যুগ ধরিয়া অন্যায়ভাবে ভোগ করিয়া ধনী হইয়া—বিরাট অর্থশালী হইয়া পড়িয়াছেন।

আপনারা হিন্দু কংগ্রেসীগণ মনে মুখে এক নহেন। তাহার একটা উদাহরণ দিতেছি। আপনাদের মহাপূজ্য কংগ্রেস-দেবতা গান্ধিজীও যে মনে মুখে এক নহেন, তাহার কথাই আগে বলিতেছি। বিগত নন্-কো-অপারেশনের সময় গান্ধিজী বলিলেন—ইংরেজের সঙ্গে সকল সম্পর্ক ত্যাগ কর—ইংরেজের সকল বর্জ্জন কর—স্কুল বর্জ্জন কর—কলেজ বর্জ্জন কর, আইন-আদালত বর্জ্জন কর—ইংরেজের যাহা কিছু সব খারাপ—সব বর্জ্জন কর—দেশ কথা শুনিল—বর্জ্জন করিল। তৎপর কিছুদিন পর বর্জ্জনে বিশেষ সুবিধা না হওয়ায়, গান্ধিজী একদিন আবার হঠাৎ বলিয়া উঠিলেন, খুব, ভুল হইয়াছে, এবার আবার অর্জ্জন কর—স্কুল অর্জ্জন কর—কলেজ অর্জ্জন কর—আইন-আদালত অর্জ্জন কর—ইংরেজের যাহা কিছু সব ভাল—সব খুব অধ্যবসায় সহকারে অর্জ্জন কর। দেশ সে সব অর্জ্জনে আবার ব্যাপৃত হইল। এই বর্ত্তমান যুদ্ধ সম্বন্ধেও তিনি একদিন বলিয়াছিলেন, Westminster Abbey (ওয়েষ্টমিনষ্টার এবে) এবং বিলাতের কারুকার্য্যখচিত অমন সুন্দর সুন্দর সৌধগুলি, জার্ম্মাণীর বোমারু বিমানের গোলার আঘাতে ধ্বংস হইয়া যাইবে—চূর্ণবিচূর্ণ হইয়া যাইবে, এই চিন্তাও তিনি সহ্য করিতে পারেন না—তাঁহার কলিজা ফাটিয়া যাইতেছে—গভীর শোকে এবং দুঃখে সত্যই তিনি ভেউ ভেউ করিয়া কাঁদিয়া ফেলিলেন—দুই চক্ষুর

জলে তাঁহার বক্ষ ভাসিয়া প্লাবিত হইয়া গেল এবং সে রাত্রে তাঁহার নিদ্রা হইল না। *এমন কি শোকাতিশয্যে সে সংবাদ তিনি খবরের কাগজে দিলেন—বিলাতেও তাহা* ছাপা হইল এবং বিলাতে তাঁহার জয়জয়কার—ধন্য ধন্য পড়িয়া গেল। অতঃপর 'তিনি যখন মহামান্য বড়লাট বাহাদুরের নিকট হইতে আমন্ত্রণ পাইলেন, তখন তিনি ঘণ্টা, মিনিট এবং সেকেণ্ড গুণিয়া বহুবার বড়লাট দরবারে বাধ্য সুবোধ বালকের মত যাওয়া-আসা করিলেন। তারপর উভয়ের মধ্যে বিস্তর সলাপরামর্শ হইল। গান্ধিজী তাঁহার কার্য্য হাসিল করিবার জন্য যথাসাধ্য চেষ্টা করিলেন। আমরা ভাবিলাম, পূর্ব্ব-"বর্জ্জিত" ইংরেজের জন্য গান্ধিজীর প্রেমসাগরে যখন হঠাৎ এত বান ডাকিয়াছে, তখন তিনি এবার মনেপ্রাণে সদলবলে এই যুদ্ধে ইংরেজের সাহায্য করিয়া বিলাতের সুন্দর সুন্দর সৌধগুলি নিশ্চয়ই রক্ষা করিবেন, কিন্তু কোন একটা বিষয় লইয়া সব গোলমাল হইয়া গেল। সেই গোলমালটা কিসের জন্য তাহার ব্যাখ্যা আমি করিব না। সমগ্র জগৎ তাহা এখন বুঝিতে পারিয়াছে এবং মুসলমানেরাও বুঝিয়াছে। হঠাৎ গান্ধিজীর ইংরেজ-প্রীতি এবং ইংরেজের জন্য হা-হুতাশ, চক্ষুর জল ও বিলাপ দেখিয়া আমাদের মনে গভীর সন্দেহ হইয়াছিল এই বলিয়া যে, ইহার ভিতর গভীর "রহস্য" আছে। প্রথমে গান্ধিজীর ভাবাবেগে বুঝা গিয়াছিল, এই যুদ্ধে বিনা সর্ত্তে ইংরেজদিগকে তিনি সাহায্য করিবেন। পরে নিজ মতলব হাসিল না হওয়ায়, তিনি বলিলেন—ওয়ার্কিং কমিটির সহিত পরামর্শ করিয়া যাহা হয় করা যাইবে। কংগ্রেস ওয়ার্কিং কমিটি ডাকা হইল, কংগ্রেসের সকল "হাই কমাণ্ড" আসিলেন—গান্ধিজী আসিলেন—বহু সলাপরামর্শের পর স্থির হইল—গান্ধিজী পাতি দিলেন—ইংরেজকে সাহায্য করা হইবে না—বিলাতের সৌধগুলি চুরমার হয় হউক,—ইংরেজকে দংশন করিতে হইবে। সঙ্গে সঙ্গে কংগ্রেস সর্প হইয়া ইংরেজকে ছোবল মারিল—দংশন করিল। কংগ্রেস মন্ত্রীমণ্ডলীর উপর আদেশ হইল—অবিলম্বে ইংরেজের মসনদ পরিত্যাগ কর। তাহাই হইল—একে একে সকলেই মসনদ পরিত্যাগ করিল। উদ্দেশ্য ইংরেজ কাবু হইবে—কংগ্রেসের সঙ্গে সন্ধি করিবে এবং কংগ্রেসের কথা মানিয়া লইবে। তাহা হইল না—ইংরেজ টলিল না। ইংরেজ অচল—অটল রহিল। কংগ্রেসের দংশনের বিষে ইংরেজকে ধরিল না। কংগ্রেস এখন বৃহদাকার ঢোঁড়া সাপের ন্যায় হইয়াছে। তাহার কামড়ে বিষ নাই—ইংরেজের কিছুই হইবে না। কিন্তু কংগ্রেস তার সঙ্গে যদি একটি ক্ষুদ্র বিষধর কেউটে সর্প রাখিতে রাজী হয়, তাহা হইলে সেই কেউটের কামড়ে ইংরেজ বিষে জর্জ্জরিত হইবে—কার্য্য হাসিল হইবে। সেই ক্ষুদ্র বিষধর কেউটে সর্প হইতেছে ভারতের মুসলমান। পূর্ব্বে বলিয়াছি কংগ্রেসী হিন্দুগণ মনে মুখে এক নহে—তার যথেষ্ট প্রমাণ পূর্ব্বে দেওয়া হইয়াছে। এখন ভারতের মঙ্গলের জন্য কংগ্রেস-হিন্দুগণকে মনে মুখে এক হইতে বলি—আন্তরিকতার সহিত মুসলমানের সহিত সদ্ভাব, একতা ও বন্ধুত্ব করিতে বলি। খালি গালাগালি ও গপাবাজীতে ভারতের মঙ্গল হইবে না।

এখন কংগ্রেস-হিন্দুগণকে নূতন angle of vision (দৃষ্টিকোণ) গ্রহণ করিতে হইবে। যে nationalism বা জাতীয়তার অর্থ Hindu nationalism বা হিন্দু জাতীয়তা তাহাকে

আমরা মুসলমানগণ দূর হইতে সেলাম করি। যে জাতীয়তার গূঢ় উদ্দেশ্য ভারতে হিন্দুপ্রাধান্য ও হিন্দু রাজত্ব প্রতিষ্ঠা, সে জাতীয়তার সঙ্গে ভারতের হিন্দুর অর্থদ্বারা কেনা গোলাম ব্যতীত অন্য কোন মুসলমান যোগ দিতে পারে না। যে জাতীয়তা হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মিলিত ভিত্তির উপর প্রতিষ্ঠিত হইবে, তাহাই হইবে ভারতের প্রকৃত জাতীয়তা—সে জাতীয়তার সৌধই হইবে ভারতের হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মিলনের প্রকৃত সৌধ—ভারতের হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মিলনের পুণ্যতীর্থ।

ভারতের নয় কোটি বীর্য্যবন্ত মুসলমানকে অবজ্ঞা করিয়া, তুচ্ছ করিয়া ভারতে কোন জাতীয়তা প্রতিষ্ঠিত করা হিন্দুদের ত ক্ষমতা নাই-ই, জগতের কাহারও ক্ষমতা নাই, এ কথা আমি উচ্চকণ্ঠে বলিতেছি। এই গান্ধিজী এক সময়ে হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মিলিত দাবী মৌখিক গ্রহণ করিয়া হিন্দু-মুসলমানের নেতৃত্ব করিতেছিলেন। কিন্তু Round Table Conferenceএর সময় যখন হিন্দু-মুসলমানের দাবীর কথা উঠিল, তখন ইংরাজগণ হিন্দু ও মুসলমান নেতৃবৃন্দের হাতেই তাহার মীমাংসার ভার দিলেন। কথা রহিল, হিন্দু ও মুসলমান নেতৃবৃন্দ হিন্দু-মুসলমান-সমস্যার যে মীমাংসা করিয়া দিবেন, ইংরাজগণ তাহাতেই রাজী হইবেন। গান্ধিজী হিন্দু ও মুসলমানের উভয়ের মান্য নেতা হইয়াও মুসলমানদিগের ন্যায্য দাবী তাহাদিগকে দিতে রাজী হইতে পারিলেন না। তিনি মিঃ ম্যাকডোনাল্ডের হাতে সালিসীর ভার দিয়া বলিলেন, "আপনি যাহা করিয়া দিবেন, তাহাতেই আমরা বাধ্য থাকিব।" সাম্প্রদায়িক বাটোয়ারার জন্য এখন কান্নাকাটি করিলে কিছুই হইবে না, এবং তাহা শোভনীয়ও নহে। গান্ধিজী যে মুসলমান স্বার্থের পরিবর্ত্তে হিন্দু স্বার্থ ভারতে প্রতিষ্ঠা করিতে চাহেন, তাহা এ ক্ষেত্রে এবং বহু ক্ষেত্রে প্রমাণিত হইয়া গিয়াছে। সে জন্য তাঁহার জাতীয়তা মানে হিন্দু জাতীয়তা। আমার পূর্ব্ববর্ত্তী বক্তা বলিয়াছেন, এই যুদ্ধে ইংরাজের পরাজয় ঘটিলে ভারতের সুবিধা হইবে। কিন্তু, আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করিতে চাই—ইংরাজের পরাজয় মানে কি কেবল বিলাতে ইংরাজের পরাজয়? ভারতে ইংরাজকে পরাজিত করিতে শত্রুপক্ষ কি ছাড়িবে? Soviet Russia (সোভিয়েট রাশিয়া) কিছুদিন পূর্ব্বে প্রকাশ করিয়াছে, তাহারা তুরস্ক এবং ভারতবর্ষ আক্রমণ করিবে। সে সংবাদ শুনিয়া তুরস্ক তৎক্ষণাৎই উত্তর দিয়াছে—"তুরস্কে এস, আমরা যুদ্ধের জন্য প্রস্তুত হইয়াই রহিয়াছি।" তুর্কীরা বীর, তাই বীরের মত উত্তর দিয়াছে। কিন্তু, আপনারা সেরূপ উত্তর দিতে পারিবেন কি? না রাশিয়াকে ভারত আক্রমণ করিতে দিবেন? রুষ সীমান্ত হইতে ভারত মাত্র একহাজার মাইল দূর। রুষ বোমারু বিমান সকালে যাত্রা করিয়া ভারতে আসিয়া বিমান হইতে বোমা বর্ষণপূর্ব্বক ভারতের সহরগুলি ধ্বংস করিয়া দিয়া সন্ধ্যার পূর্ব্বেই দেশে ফিরিয়া যাইতে পারিবে।

যদি রুষ বোমারুরা আসিয়া কলিকাতা আক্রমণ করে, তাহা হইলে, আমাদের সম্মুখে উপবিষ্ট কংগ্রেস বিরুদ্ধদল, যাহারা এই প্রস্তাবের বিপক্ষে লম্বা লম্বা বক্তৃতা করিয়াছেন, সেই হিন্দুদের বড় বড় বাড়ীর উপরেই প্রথমে বোমা ফেলিবে এবং কংগ্রেস-বিরুদ্ধ-দলপতি মিঃ শরৎ বসুর বাড়ীর চূড়ায়ও নিশ্চয়ই বোমা পড়িবে। তখন তাঁহার লম্বা বক্তৃতা তাঁহাকে রক্ষা করিতে পারিবে না। রক্ষা করিতে হইলে যে ইংরেজকে তিনি সাহায্য করিতে নারাজ, সেই ইংরেজই তাঁহার বাড়ীঘর, তাঁহার পুত্রপরিজন রক্ষার ব্যবস্থা করিবেন। মুখে যা তা

বলা সহজ, কিন্তু প্রকৃত অবস্থা অন্যরূপ। মুসলমানের তেমন বিশেষ বাড়ীঘর নাই—কাজেই মুসলমানের বাড়ীঘর রক্ষার লেঠাও কম। তবুও রুষ ভারত আক্রমণপূর্ব্বক ভারতকে লণ্ডভণ্ড পর্য্যুদস্ত ও ধ্বংস করুক, ইহা আমি আদৌ চাহি না। পোল্যাণ্ডবাসীর কি শোচনীয় দুর্দ্দশা হইয়াছে, তাহা আমরা দেখিয়াছি। একা রুষ নহে, জার্ম্মাণী, জাপান ও আফগানও ভারতের দিকে শ্যেনদৃষ্টি নিক্ষেপ করিয়া রহিয়াছে। সুবিধা পাইলে, যে কোন মুহূর্ত্তে তাহারা ভারত আক্রমণ করিবে, ইহা একরূপ অকাট্য সত্য। ভারতের এরূপ অসহায় অবস্থায় ইংরেজের পরাজয় হউক, একথা কেবল কংগ্রেসের মতলববাজ হিন্দুগণই বলিতে পারে, ভারতের বিবেচক অন্য কেহই একথা বলিবে না, ইহা আমি দৃঢ়কণ্ঠে বলিতে পারি।

সেইজন্য আমি সমস্ত দিক বিবেচনা করিয়া ভারতের মঙ্গলেরজন্য—ভারতবাসীর মঙ্গলের জন্য এবং বিশেষ করিয়া বাংলাদেশের মঙ্গলের জন্য আমি মাননীয় প্রধানমন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের যুদ্ধসম্পর্কিত প্রস্তাবটি অন্তরের সহিত সমর্থন করিতেছি।

Adjournment.

It being 8-45 p.m.—

The House was adjourned till 4 p.m. on Friday the 15th December, 1939, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 15th December, 1939, at 4 p.m.

Present.

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 212 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

Securing co-operation of other Jute-growing Provinces in Jute Restriction Scheme.

***79A. Maulvi ABDUL HAKIM:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department aware that considerable amount of jute is grown in some districts of Assam and some other provinces?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government contemplate approaching the Governments of other jute-growing provinces with a request for introduction of identical restriction scheme in their provinces?

MINISTER in charge of AGRICULTURE, PUBLIC HEALTH, MEDICAL and VETERINARY DEPARTMENTS (the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) I have already approached the Governments of Assam and Bihar asking their co-operation. It is my intention to approach those Governments again with a request to take steps to obtain powers similar to those which this Government propose to obtain under the Jute Regulation Bill which is before this House and to co-operate with us in any regulation of future crops that may be considered desirable.

Maulvi ABDUL HAKIM : মন্ত্রীমহাশয় অনুগ্রহ কোরে বোলবেন কি আসাম এবং বেহার গভর্ণমেন্ট এরকম কোন আইন ইচ্ছাপূর্ব্বক না করেন তাহলে কি তাদের বাধ্য কোরে করাতে পারবেন ?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if those Governments have replied?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Yes.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the contents of their replies?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Those Governments were first of all written to to co-operate with this Government and for that purpose it was proposed that the Ministers in charge of the Agriculture Departments of those Provinces should come to Bengal early in November for holding a conference with this Government on this question. Meantime, Congress Ministries in those provinces resigned and the proposal fell through and the matter was not further pursued.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that a conference was held year before last of the Ministers in charge of the Agriculture Departments of Assam and Bihar on the identical proposal? If so, what was the outcome of that conference?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: At that time no definite proposal was at all formulated; only certain general questions were discussed. As far as I know they were not unwilling to co-operate.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government is considering the desirability of not actually introducing restriction schemes unless and until the adjacent provinces come into line with Bengal proposals?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Not Sir.

Maulvi ABDUL HAKIM: মন্ত্রীমহাশয় কি অনুগ্রহপূর্ব্বক বোলবেন আসাম এবং বেহার গভর্ণমেন্ট এরকম আইন——

Mr. SPEAKER: You cannot ask that question. You can ask a general question.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় কি বলবেন—পতকরা কত ভাগ পাট আসাম, বেহার এবং উড়িষ্যা প্রদেশে জন্মায় ?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a matter of statistics which is available to the public.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: মন্ত্রীমহাশয় এখানে প্রশ্নের যা উত্তর দিয়েছেন তাতে বোলেছেন যথেষ্ট পাট জন্মে আসাম এবং বেহারে। কিন্তু এটা কি সত্য যে শতকরা ১৫ ভাগের বেশী পাট আসাম, বেহার ও উড়িষ্যা প্রদেশে জন্মে না?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I think my friend is correct.

Point of Order.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: On a point of order, Sir. আমাদের Jute Regulation Bill এর amendment দেবার আজ ১৫ই ডিসেম্বর হচ্ছে শেষ তারিখ। কিন্তু আজ পর্য্যন্ত আমরা Jute Committeeর রিপোর্ট পাই নাই। রিপোর্ট পেলে আমাদের amendment দেবার পক্ষে সুবিধা হোতো। সেই জন্য আমাদের অনুরোধ amendment submit করার timeটা বাড়িয়ে দিলে ভাল হয়।

Mr. SPEAKER: All I can say is that if any party desires to put any last-minute amendments, I shall be very glad to accept them provided I get 24 hours notice. I think it is not desirable to extend the time on an individual basis. I am quite willing, as I have always said, to consider any amendment which might be put by a party on a party basis.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge give us an idea as to whether he can supply the members with copies of the Jute Report? Now that on Monday we are having discussion on war resolution and not on Jute, we can very well have one day extended.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I cannot say just now, if it will be possible to give time as suggested

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: I have been asked by my party not to move my resolution. Therefore I do not move it.

Mr. ABUL HOSSAIN AHMAD: Sir, Reolution No. 39 আমার নামে আছে। আমি ৭২ জন মেম্বারের দস্তখৎ নিয়ে আপনাকে জানিয়েছি। তার কি হলো?

Mr. SPEAKER: As a matter of fact that does not depend on me. I come in much later in the picture. I am helpless.

The Hon'ble Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER: I have not been able to give him permission because the resolution was not sent to me in due time and the notice was not proper.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would like to say that on this point I join issue with the Finance Minister. The notice was sent in due time and was received in his office in due time. We have to learn by experience where notice is to be given in future. If the point of view taken by Government be that notice is to be sent to the Hon'ble Minister himself and not to his office we will be prepared to do so in future. In the present case I have got the signature of some officer of the Finance Department to show that the notice was received before the requisite number of days.

The Hon'ble Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER: My information is that the notice was received on the 11th.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will presently show when it was received.

Enquiry Committee about Pay and Prospects of Inferior Grade Employees under Government.

Kazi EMDADUL HAQUE: I beg to move that this Assembly is of opinion that a small committee of officials and non-officials should immediately be formed to enquire about and report on the improvement in pay and prospects of all the inferior grade employees under the Government of Bengal.

Sir, my resolution embodies merely a request for the appointment of a small committee to look into the grievances of a certain section of the employees under the Government of Bengal and to submit their report with their recommendations thereon. The present Government, as now constituted, contain only the Indian elements; they are expected to know the needs and wants of every sphere of Indian life, and they can therefore at once go into the matter. They can know from their own experience that the grievances of these employees are true and genuine and they can make amends for their sufferings in the past. I may here tell the House that this resolution contemplates the cases of only those employees under the Government of Bengal whose posts carry a meagre emolument and who on that account find themselves greatly embarrassed pecuniarily, and who on account of that fact have to resort to many mal-practices. So, it is desirable that the Government should come forward to look to their grievances and redress them at an early date, and this can be done only by going into the question

thoroughly. For this I suggest that an Enquiry Committee should be immediately formed consisting of both officials and non-officials. If the Committee finds that the grievances are genuine and not imaginary, let the Government come forward to redress them.

Sir, an average Bengalee family consists of at least five persons. Now, for these five persons, even to live in a most humble way, at least Rs. 30 is required for dietary purposes alone, and there are other expenses as well which a family has got to incur, as for example educational expenses of the children and, the expenses for medical treatment of the family and besides these, if a man has got to live in a society he has got to incur many other incidental expenses as for example, expenses for entertaining friends, guests and so forth. So, taking all these things into consideration a family consisting of 5 members would require at least Rs. 40 per mensem, and in the case of Government employees they will require something more, because the Government employees cannot reside in a distant corner of the province. They have to live in subdivisional towns and district towns, and therefore they have to hire houses for rent. But if anybody does not do that, then he has to maintain two establishments, one for himself, and the other for the rest of his family. So on this score Government servants will need something more than Rs. 40. I think for them to live in a moderately humble way they would need no less than Rs. 50 a month.

My resolution contemplates the cases of 15,000 process servers, and a host of other Government employees of inferior rank, mostly clerks of civil and criminal courts who draw a salary of less than Rs. 50 a month. But unfortunately their cases go unheard and unredressed and have not hitherto received any generous treatment. Now, I have shown that they require at least Rs. 50 per mensem and I may remind the House that the All-India Congress in more sessions than one has expressed it definitely that no Indian should be paid less than Rs. 50 a month while in the services of the State. The All-India Muslim League also in its Calcutta session in the year 1932 adopted a resolution to the effect that Government should pay their servants at least a minimum pay of Rs. 30 per month. I may, further inform the House that the Bombay Government has already increased the pay of Government servants to the extent of Rs. 30 as minimum. Now, therefore so far as the salary of inferior Government servants is concerned, the consensus of opinion is that Rs. 50 should be the minimum salary. This view has been given expression to by the Muslim League as well as the Indian National Congress, and other organisations. The Proja Party has urged this point over and again.

Again, it is not only with regard to the matter of salary that they have been unjustly treated, but in other respects also injustice has

been done to them. It is an undoubted fact that the high-paid officers may manage to do without travelling, without house-rent and even without pension, but yet provision has been made for all these things in their favour while in the case of these poor people who cannot afford to pay out of their own pockets, no provision has been made as regards these things. In the matter of pension, in the matter of provident fund, in the matter of privilege leave with full pay they are shabbily treated. Nay, all those privileges have been denied to this class of persons for whom this resolution is intended. Sir, of the inferior employees only the process servers have organized themselves and they are very well organised. The Hon'ble the Chief Minister is the President of that organization, but not only he is in sympathy with this organization of the process servers, but some of his esteemed colleagues such as the Finance Minister, the Revenue Minister and the Judicial Minister as well, graced the annual conference of their Association with their august presence and kind participation.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry to interrupt you Mr. Haque for a second. I have got just now the Registration Book. The resolution of which the Hon'ble the Finance Minister was speaking was received in his department on the 9th December.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: May I suggest, Sir, that this matter be settled between you and the Hon'ble Minister outside the House?

Mr. SPEAKER: As it was referred to in this House, I am conveying the information in the open House.

Kazi EMDADUL HAQUE: Now seeing, Sir, that three Ministers have expressed their sympathy from time to time by blessing the Conference of this organization by their august presence and that some stalwarts of the Coalition Party and some prominent members of the Muslim League party also sympathized with them by presenting themselves in their annual functions from time to time. I boldly think that from all sides there will be unanimous support to this resolution.

With these few words, Sir, I commend my resolution to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the resolution moved by Kazi Emdadul Haque. The process servers' case has been ably advocated here, but they themselves have been pressing upon this Assembly from the very beginning and even before; in the

old Legislative Council. They sent questions and resolutions were discussed in this House, and on the distinct assurance of the Minister the resolution was withdrawn.

The Hon'ble Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER: When?

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On the 9th of September, 1937, and the assurance was given by the Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker and also by the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain. Assurances are there, but nothing so far has been done. I was just talking to one of the process servers and he was telling me that a Government servant getting Rs. 4,000 gets Rs. 400 as house rent, while a man getting Rs. 40 gets Rs. 4, while a man getting Rs. 14 does not get anything. Perhaps he is not supposed to live in a house. Most probably the footpath is good enough for him. Similarly again, a man drawing Rs. 4,000 gets one month's leave with pay in one year, a man getting Rs. 40 gets 15 days' leave with pay, and a man getting Rs. 14 will get no holiday with pay. Similarly again, a man getting Rs. 4,000 will get as pension half his salary, a man getting Rs. 40 one-third, while a man drawing Rs. 20 or less will get Rs. 8 which has also only recently been decided. A man getting Rs. 4,000 will get pension, provident fund, and also the advantage of commutation, while a man drawing Rs. 40 will get only pension and the man getting Rs. 14 will get none of the three. Similarly, for travelling, a man getting Rs. 4,000 will get first class, a man getting less, second class and inter class according to his pay, but a man drawing Rs. 14 will get no travelling allowance, perhaps it is thought that God-given feet are quite good enough for him. Similarly, in the matter of stationery, higher officers get a large quantity of stationery for their use while the process-servers who are to move from door to door, are not even supplied with pen and ink. Perhaps it is thought that process-servers can beg, borrow, or steal from some members of the public and do their job. I do not understand why this distinction is there even in respect of stationery.

There is another class of workers to whom I shall refer and they are Government building workers. The conveniences, the cool atmosphere that we are enjoying here, and the lift that we enjoy here and in the Writers' Buildings and all the conveniences which electricity has given to the Government Buildings, are entirely due to these workers who have been trying their level best for the last three years to improve their lot. They have formed a Union which is not recognised and on that ground the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of Communications and Works refuses to deal with the Union or with the workers. For the last three years they have been praying that something should be done for them. Some of them have been working for 25 to 35 years and still they are not made permanent, and "no work, no pay" is the

system of their work, and any day they may be kicked out with no pension and no provident fund. That is the position. Therefore, Sir, it is urgently necessary that something should be done for them. A lot is said by the present Government of what they have done for labour, but what have they done for their own labour? When we talk about jute mills, they say that the jute mill owners do not listen to them. They have no power over jute mill owners; but if they have not got this much power even to improve the lot of Government servnts, I do not know why they are there.

In the resolution that was discussed in this very House it was shown clearly that due to the process-servers a sum of nearly fifty lakhs is earned of which not more than 18 lakhs is spent for them. The remaining portion goes to swell the budget of the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker. Why should not some portion of it be given for the cause of the process-servers, electrical workers and other employees of Government. To-day the need for such improvement is absolutely urgent. We know, due to the increase of prices of all commodities, everybody is suffering. The wage earners are suffering more because the difficulties of those who are earning below, say, Rs. 30, 40, or 50, can be better imagined than described. We have been demanding outside this House and inside this House 25 per cent. increment of wages of all those who are getting below Rs. 100, and, I think, it is absolutely fair and just that this minimum consideration should be made to those employees who are serving this Government. Government owes it to itself to do at least this much for the poor employees who entirely depend on them. The method of ordinary Trade Unionism was not quite open to them, and to-day due to the Defence of India Act and the rules framed by this Cabinet, any constitutional method of airing their grievances is also denied to them. Therefore it is no good throttling them completely because that might result in a disaster.

With this warning to the Government I commend this resolution to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, I rise to support the resolution No. 2 moved by my friend Kazi Emdadul Haque. It is high time that a little attention of Government should be directed to this question. We have seen that Ministers, probably in their private capacity in presiding over the Conference of Inferior Grade Employees of Government, gave them assurances. It is time that they should try to keep up their assurances.

The Hon'ble Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER: What is the nature of the assurance?

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: That they will try to find out some ameliorative measures.

The Hon'ble Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER: But can you quote the sentence?

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: I will refer the Hon'ble Minister to the report, of the process-servers' conference of different years, and I will remind the Hon'ble Minister of the assurance he gave in the ministerial conference at Dinajpur.

The Hon'ble Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER: I did not give absoultely any assurance. I remember quite well.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: There are written reports on this point. Please refer to them and then say whatever you like.

It is essential in these days that equal social facilities should be given to all members of society. If it is true, we must feel that in giving education to a child of an inferior grade employee probably he will have to pay the same amount as a Minister or a member of the Legislative Assembly will have to pay for his son. It does not look well that Government should be indifferent to these needs of the society which they should have long ago attended to. We should also think of the necessity of this limb of Government administration as we think of the necessity of other limbs—persons who get high salaries. They do not claim Rs. 500 or Rs. 2,500, but they claim the barest minimum, that is, their prayer is for the bare necessities of life that they require to educate their children, for their food and clothing and for giving medical treatment to the members of their family. We all know, Sir, that if a member of the family of an inferior grade employee of Government is attacked with typhoid the cost of medical treatment in his case will be equal to the cost required for the treatment of the member of the family of the Hon'ble Minister or any member of any other Government officer.

I do not really see any reason why we should make so much invidious distinction in salary of Government employees. For example, the Peshkar of a Judge who is probably a B.L. or a first class M.A. draws Rs. 80 whereas a Munsiff-Judge draws Rs. 1,500. Again, a Peshkar of a Subdivisional Officer who is a graduate or a first class M.A. draws Rs. 59, but a Deputy Magistrate draws Rs. 750. This sort of invidious distinction in salary must cease if we really want to give facilities to all the members of our society. I may also ask the Government to see if it is possible for the Government to grant them some relief. These inferior grade employees, I mean the peons, orderlies, process-servers

and subordinate grade clerks in the mufassal districts should be given some relief. Sir, there is no provision in the case of orderlies, peons, and process-servers for leave or gratuity and my submission is that they should be given some relief in this direction also.

With these words I support the resolution.

Mr. J. N. GUPTA: In supporting the resolution of my honourable friend Kazi Emdadul Haque I want to emphasise on the question of the pay and prospects of inferior grade employees under the Government. They have been denied in most cases humanitarian treatment. If any one examines the question he will be surprised to find the usual stereo-type reply of inability on account of financial stringency. But when we look into the question of overseas allowance to officers we find that the Government is solvent. What is the position of poor souls who are employed in the inferior grade? The bulk of the workers was born in debt, lived in debt and died in debt Everything is against him. Because he is a worker he must borrow to maintain his standard of living. Because his income is small and has to support more persons than he can feed, he must increase his borrowing to keep these persons alive. His caste and his religion compel him to borrow a third time to meet the cost of customary festival or customary ceremony. As the debt grows, the repayment of it becomes more difficult until at last some calamity comes upon him and repayment becomes impossible, and he sinks into a state of chronic indebtedness from which death alone can release him.

In this particular place where we meet, these men come at 10-30 a.m. and are sometimes detained at their posts till late hours without any extra remuneration which is essentially necessary to maintain their health and efficiency. A peon drawing a meagre salary can neither afford to pay for his conveyance nor buy a few chanas but walk home at night to a distance extending over 4 to 5 miles fatigued with hunger and disappointment. If any one carefully examines the cost of living he will surely find that the pay given to them is quite inadequate.

I want to give an index of the cost of living. As regards medical expenses, you will be surprised to find that it has been increased by leaps and bounds. In the older days if any one was attacked with fever he went to a doctor or Kaviraj or Hakim for treatment and immediately got medicine after the physician felt his pulse. Now when a man goes to a doctor he would direct him to get his blood, sputum and urine examined and to get result of X-Ray examination which would cost him at least Rs. 30 before he can get a drop of medicine.

Then coming to the question of education, it is also so costly that men of that grade can hardly manage to bear the expenses. In other

countries the State bears the expenses for primary education but here the position is quite the contrary. Our Government bears the expenses for higher education ignoring the question of primary education. In other countries the State only grants certain facilities for higher education.

I therefore request the Government to take steps to ameliorate the conditions of the poor workers.

What I have said is the real condition of the inferior grade employees and I have not exaggerated it a bit.

With these words I appeal once more to the Hon'ble Minister to take steps to ameliorate the condition of the poor people

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The question may now be put.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: I move that the question be now put.

The Hon'ble Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER: This is not a new matter and I have every sympathy with the subject-matter of this resolution. It cannot be denied that great inequities exist as between the various grades of officers in matters of pay but the whole thing hinges on the question of cost. I made a rough calculation of the cost. If we were to raise the limit to Rs. 20, it would involve a recurring expenditure of Rs. 10 lakhs, but if this is raised to Rs. 30 then the cost would be Rs. 57½ lakhs a year. If we increase the limit to Rs 20 and Rs. 30, we shall certainly have to increase the pay of the other intermediate services also which are next to the lowest grade. These are the considerations which have prevented Government from taking active steps in the matter up till now. But we have just appointed a Special Officer to investigate into the question and to formulate a scheme which can gradually be given effect to within the resources of our finance.

In regard to Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu's statement that I gave an assurance in the Dinajpur Ministerial Officers' Conference that I would try my best to do it, I do not think that the statement is correct. On the other hand, I said that whatever other difficulties there might be I would see that they were remedied, but that so far as increase in salary was concerned, under the present position of finance of the Province, I could not advise Government to take a bold step in this direction, however, deserving it might be.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: That was only for the next budget session.

The Hon'ble Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER: I have not said anything about budget session. When I made my statement I realised what I was saying.

I think as the matter is being investigated by Government, the mover will withdraw his resolution.

The motion of Kazi Emdadul Haque that this Assembly is of opinion that a small committee of officials and non-officials should immediately be formed to enquire and report on the improvement in pay and prospects of all the inferior grade employees under the Government of Bengal, was then put and lost.

Request for Introduction of Unemployment Insurance Bill.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: I beg to move that this Assembly is of opinion that steps be taken in the next session of this House for introducing by the Government a Bill for unemployment insurance in Bengal more or less on the lines of the Bill proposed to be introduced in Madras Assembly providing for State control and sharing of financial responsibility primarily by the State and secondarily by the employers and for some years by the employees as well.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am very sorry that I will have to be absent for about an hour. I hope members will excuse me. I am asking the Deputy Speaker to preside in my absence.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: আমার প্রস্তাবটির উদ্দেশ্য অতি সহজ, এই প্রস্তাবে গভর্ণমেণ্টের কাছে এই মর্ম্মে অনুরোধ করা হোয়েছে তারা যেন পরিষদের আগামী অধিবেশনে একটি বেকার বীমা বিল আনয়ন করেন। বর্ত্তমানে, বাঙলার বেকার সমস্যা কিরূপ প্রবল আকার ধারণ কোরেছে, শ্রমিক আন্দোলনের সাথে যাদের বিন্দু মাত্র সংস্রব আছে তারাই তা ভাল কোরে জানেন। প্রতি কারখানার চারিপাশেই দেখা যায় যেখানে একজন কাজ করে সেখানে গড়ে চারজন বেকার। শ্রমিক আন্দোলনের সাথে আমি যখন প্রথম সংশ্লিষ্ট হই, তখনই বুঝিতে পারি, শ্রমিকের সব চেয়ে বড় সমস্যা বেকার জনার সমস্যা। শ্রমিকের সব চেয়ে বড় জিনিষ চাকরি সম্বন্ধে নিরাপত্তা—যেন যে কোন সময়ে চাকরি চলে না যায়। বাংলার শ্রমিকদের কিরূপ ভাবে বেকার হোতে হয়, তা বাংলার চটকলসমূহে যে সমস্ত শ্রমিক কাজ করে তাদের অবস্থা দেখলেই বুঝা যায়, ১৯২৯ সালে বাংলার চটকলসমূহে ৫ লক্ষ মজুর কাজ করতো, এখন সেখানে ৩ লক্ষ লোকও কাজ করে না। এই দশ বৎসরের মধ্যে চটকলের ২ লক্ষ মজুর বেকার হোয়েছে। গেল দুই বৎসরের মধ্যে প্রায় ১ লক্ষ শ্রমিক বেকার হোয়েছে। যে সব শ্রমিক বেকার হোয়েছে

তারা অসুস্থতার জন্য কিম্বা কাজ করিতে অনিচ্ছুক বলে বেকার হোয়েছে তা নয়। তাদের সুস্থ সবল দেহ অথচ তারা কাজ পায় না। কাজ থেকে তাদের জোর কোরে বঞ্চিত রাখা হয়েছে।

আমার প্রস্তাবের উদ্দেশ্য—মাদ্রাজ গভর্ণমেণ্ট যে ধরনের একটি বেকার-বীমা বিল উপস্থিত কোর্‌তে চেয়েছিলেন বাংলার গভর্ণমেণ্টও সেরূপ একটি বিল উপস্থিত করুন। সেই বিলের উদ্দেশ্য যত বেকার আছে সকলের জন্যই বীমার বন্দোবস্ত করতে হবে এরূপ নয়। এমন এক দিন হয়ত আসবে যখন গভর্ণমেণ্ট প্রত্যেক বেকারের জন্যই বীমার বন্দোবস্ত কোর্‌বেন। কিন্তু বর্ত্তমান অবস্থায় তা সম্ভব নয়। ভারতবর্ষে বর্ত্তমানে কত বেকার আছে তাহার সংখ্যা জানা নেই। সে সম্বন্ধে কেন্দ্রীয় পরিষদে প্রশ্ন করা হোয়েছিল কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট কোন স্পষ্ট জবাব দেন নাই। অনেকে অনুমান করেন ভারতে বেকারের সংখ্যা ৪ কোটী হবে। সুতরাং সকলের জন্য ব্যবস্থা করা সম্ভব হবে না তাই মাদ্রাজ গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের বিলটি অত্যন্ত সীমাবদ্ধ কোরেছেন। যারা কাজ কোর্‌তে সমর্থ অথচ কাজ পায় না।

এই বেকার বীমার প্রয়োগ ক্ষেত্র তাদের মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ হবে। এই কার্য্যকরী প্রস্তাব মাদ্রাজ গভর্ণমেণ্ট উপস্থিত কোরেছেন এবং এরূপ প্রস্তাব আমিও বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টকে উপস্থিত কোর্‌তে অনুরোধ কর্‌ছি।

এই বেকার বীমার সুবিধা কাহারা পাবে সে সম্বন্ধে ২।৪টা কথা বলা দরকার। এ সম্বন্ধে মাদ্রাজ বিলে যে ব্যবস্থা আছে সে কথাই আমি বল্‌ছি। যাদের আয় বৎসরে ৯৬০৲ টাকার অধিক তারা এই বিলের সুবিধা পাবে না। ইংলণ্ডে সেই বেকার বীমা প্রথা প্রবর্ত্তিত আছে, তাতে যাদের আয় বৎসরে ২৫০ পাউণ্ডের কম তারাই বেকার বীমার সুবিধা পায় সে দেশের গড় পড়তা লোকের আয় অনেক বেশী আর আমাদের দেশে অনেক কম। তাই মনে করি মাদ্রাজ গভর্ণমেণ্ট যে নিয়ম কোর্‌তে চেয়েছিলেন অর্থাৎ যাদের আয় মাসে ৮০৲ টাকার বেশী তারা বেকার বীমার সুবিধা পাবে না। ইহা অতি ন্যায় সঙ্গত।

দ্বিতীয়তঃ যাদের অন্য প্রকারের আয় আছে যেমন পেন্সন, জমিদারী ইত্যাদি তারাও বেকার বীমার সুযোগ পাবে না। যারা শুধু কাজ করে খায়, অথচ কাজ থেকে বঞ্চিত হয়েছে, ইচ্ছা করেও কাজ পায় না বেকার বীমার সুযোগ ভোগ শুধু তারাই কর্‌তে পার্‌বে।

এখন প্রশ্ন হোতে পারে "ফাণ্ড" আস্‌বে কোথা হোতে? এ কথা ভাব্‌লে অনেকের মাথা হয়তো চঞ্চল হবে, বুক আঁতকে উঠবে। তাই এ সম্বন্ধে ভাল কোরে বলা দরকার। ইংলণ্ডে যে নিয়ম আছে তাতে গভর্ণমেণ্টের দায়িত্ব সর্ব্বপ্রধান। তারপর দায়িত্ব মালিকদের, কারণ তারাও এ দায়িত্ব এড়িয়ে চোল্‌তে পারে না। তারপর বর্ত্তমান অবস্থায় মালীকরা যখন বেকার বীমার পক্ষপাতী নয় অথচ শ্রমিকদের জন্য বেকার বীমা বিশেষ প্রয়োজন, তখন শ্রমিকদেরও এর আংশিক দায়িত্ব নেওয়া দরকার। অন্ততঃ কয়েক বৎসরের জন্য।

ভারতবর্ষে যে একটি রাষ্ট্রীয়-পরিকল্পনা সমিতি গঠিত হয়েছে, তার অধীনে একটী শ্রমিক সব-কমিটিও আছে। আমি এই সব-কমিটির জনৈক সভ্য। কিছুদিন আগে বোম্বেতে এই সব-কমিটির একটি সিটিং হইয়াছে। এই সিটিংএ আমি গিয়েছিলাম। সেখানে বেকার-বীমা সম্বন্ধে বিস্তৃত আলোচনা হয়। প্রথম প্রশ্ন উঠে শ্রমিককে কিছু দিতে হবে কি না? আমি তখন অনেক ভেবে চিন্তে বোলেছিলাম বর্ত্তমান অবস্থায় কিছুদিনের জন্য অন্ততঃ শ্রমিকের কিছু দেওয়া দরকার। ইংলণ্ডে প্রত্যেক শ্রমিক সপ্তাহে তার আয় থেকে আট পেনি কোরে এই ফাণ্ডে দেয়। আর গভর্ণমেণ্ট ও কারখানার মালীকেরা দেয় সপ্তাহে প্রত্যেক শ্রমিকের মাথাপিছু সাত পেনি কোরে। মাদ্রাজে যেই বিল আনার প্রস্তাব হোয়েছে, তাতে গভর্ণমেণ্ট সম্বন্ধে স্পষ্ট কোরে কিছু বলা হয় নাই। গভর্ণমেণ্টের দায়িত্ব সবচেয়ে শেষে ধরা হোয়েছে। এই মাদ্রাজ বিলের সবচেয়ে অধিক আপত্তিকর বিষয়। প্রত্যেক শ্রমিক তার আয় থেকে প্রতিদিন এক পয়সা কোরে দিবে এবং মালীক প্রত্যেক শ্রমিক পিছু প্রতিদিন এক পয়সা কোরে দিবে, এভাবে যে ফাণ্ড উঠ্‌বে তা দেখে গভর্ণমেণ্ট আপন কর্ত্তব্য বিবেচনা করিয়া দেখ্‌বেন। মাদ্রাজ বিলে এতটুকুই বলা হয়েছে, এর অধিক আর কিছু স্পষ্ট করে বলা হয় নাই। কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট যদি জনগণের সত্যিকার প্রতিনিধিত্বমূলক হয়, তবে তার সবচেয়ে বড় কর্ত্তব্য দেখা রাষ্ট্রের মধ্যে কোন লোক বেকার না থাকে। এসম্বন্ধে গভর্ণমেণ্টের দায়িত্ব সব-চেয়ে বেশী। মাদ্রাজ গভর্ণমেণ্ট এ দায়িত্ব এড়াতে চেয়েছেন, আমার প্রস্তাবে যদিও মাদ্রাজ গভর্ণমেণ্টের বিলের অনুকরণ করতে বলা হয়েছে, তবু গভর্ণমেণ্টের উপর সর্ব্বপ্রধান দায়িত্ব নেওয়ার অনুরোধ আমি এখানে কোর্‌ছি।

বেকার-বীমা অতি জটিল বিষয়। ভারতবর্ষে এর আগে কোথাও বেকার-বীমার খসড়া প্রস্তুত হয় নাই। তাই আমরা যখন প্রথম এই পথে পদক্ষেপ কর্‌ছি, তখন অতি সাবধানে আমাদের অগ্রসর হোতে হবে। আমি এ সম্বন্ধে আর অধিক কিছু বোল্‌তে চাইনা। এ সম্বন্ধে বিশেষজ্ঞের মত নেওয়া দরকার। হঠাৎ কাজ কোর্‌লে কাজ হবে না। আমি শুধু গভর্ণমেণ্টকে বোল্‌ছি তাঁরা যেন এর প্রয়োজনীয়তা বিশেষরূপে অনুভব কোরে প্রস্তাব গ্রহণ করেন এবং আগামী অধিবেশনে এই মর্ম্মে এই পরিষদে একটি বিল উপস্থিত করেন।

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this resolution. Only recently through the German wireless we heard that in India there are four crores of unemployed, and immediately Reuter came up with a contradiction that it is absurd, because the total number of city population is not four crores. Well, that calculation and arithmetic was quite all right, but that does not take into consideration the landless peasantry and agricultural labour. The question of unemployment has been agitating the minds of every man who is considering the social problem with any amount of earnestness. We know not only in Bengal but in other provinces as well, there is no

record of the unemployed, and that is a serious handicap for doing anything in this matter. In the very first session of this Assembly I gave notice of a resolution, but I could not move it, because the time did not permit. One Bill on the lines proposed just now by my friend Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee was presented by me to this House—Unemployment Insurance Bill—but that could not get the sanction of the Governor, because Government was to pay only two pice for every worker per week, the employer was to pay one anna and the worker one pice. Because Government had to pay this amount the Governor did not give any sanction even to this Bill. I am afraid that a similar fate will await any Bill that is presented from this side of the House, and Government is sure not to do anything in this matter. After all, it is not only a humanitarian question, but all other questions with which we are faced to-day, are intimately connected with this question. It is really a question of questions, the question of unemployment. ("Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.) Look at the communal problem. After all, what is it due to? It is mostly due to unemployment. If we can make a law that every unemployed is to get unemployment allowance from Government and also from the employer, I think at least 75 per cent. to 80 per cent. of the fight between the Hindus and Muslims would cease to exist. Because, every worker and every man will feel "well, my bread is assured; I need not fight like cats and dogs with one another for the crumb that is thrown away by the Imperialist master". (Ironical jeer from the European Benches.) Similarly, the question of provincialism which is becoming acute day by day in Bengal will also disappear. The real cause is the same unemployment. If, in Bengal, Bihar and other provinces, we had this unemployment insurance, then this fight between Bengalee and Bihari, Bengalee and Oriya and Bengalee and Assamese, all this will be reduced to a minimum.

Sir, not only this. We know that this unemployment is kept up deliberately by the capitalists to serve their own purpose. Because, if there is an army of unemployed, then they can easily depress the rate of wages when in difficulty. If in any one factory, workers go on strike demanding higher wages, there are hosts of other workers unemployed ready at hand, at beck and call to come and to work as blacklegs, to serve the interests of the jute mills and other factories. This is one of the reasons why the capitalists always try to keep afloat an army of unemployed, and to-day this question is assuming a very sinister significance. We know that when there is a large number of unemployed, recruitment work becomes very easy. A man who is starving in the streets would be quite willing to offer himself as cannon fodder. Therefore, in the interests of the capitalists they keep an army of unemployed in all countries except in socialist Soviet Russia. Even in England we have got a large number of unemployed, and though the unemployment insurance, or dole as it is called is there, even then they have not

been able to solve this question of unemployment. I do not admit that they have not been able to solve this question. They have deliberately not solved this question, for if they did solve it, it would be difficult for the capitalists to attack the standard of living of the workers, and carry on recruitment. Therefore it is the deliberate conspiracy of the capitalists not to remove unemployment or to solve the question of unemployment. Therefore, Sir, it is absolutely necessary in the interests of the capitalists not to have first of all a proper record of the unemployed and then not to solve this problem by a comprehensive Bill. So it is idle to expect the Labour Minister—or I do not know to which portfolio it belongs—to introduce a Bill from the Government side on these lines. But all the same it is our duty to bring this to the notice of this House and especially to the notice of those outside that the people who are in the Cabinet and the supporters of the Cabinet, are deliberately starving the people, the unemployed, and they do not want to do anything for them.

With these few words I support the resolution.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, it is quite obvious from the very lukewarm reception given to the last two speeches that the House is not in agreement with the resolution. Whatever may have been the merits of a resolution of this type, when, the logical conclusion of that resolution is that the capitalists are deliberately keeping an army of unemployed, when arguments of this type can be levelled, then, Sir, we are driven to the conclusion that the object of this resolution is really not to achieve something for the benefit of the labourers, but to serve as a mere handle to my honourable friends, the Banerjees, to go into the labour area and say "we attempted to get things done for you, we exploded the conspiracy that exists between the capitalists and the Government, but the Government prevented it. We would have got all these things for you." Where the money comes from does not come into the picture; to whom it is going to apply does not arise for consideration. The capitalists would only be too glad if they had more money to invest, had more capital and more industries, and could absorb all the unemployed. They are limited by their own short-comings, and by the fact that there is not enough wealth to go round. But may I say something with regard to the merits of the resolution. I think the last argument of Mr. Sibnath Banerjee is not taken seriously by himself, and I need not flog a horse that is really dead.

Sir, the resolution does not attempt to make any difference between industrial labour and labour of any other type. Apparently it embraces all such persons who have employers to employ them and for all such people whether they are industrial, or commercial, or agricultural, who are unable to find jobs, it is necessary to provide through the medium of an Insurance fund. Now, Sir, if you desire that the

House should accept a proposition you should tell the House what the financial implications are and whether it is possible for any province in India or even the India Government to be able to meet the financial liability that it is proposed to impose upon it. Even the Madras Government which figures in the resolution as a type that should be followed has hesitated, in fact has declined, to shoulder any financial responsibility, and it is certain that if the fund is to be created by the combined wealth of the labourers and of the employers, that fund will be bankrupt before its creation. Even the English unemployment fund, until a very recent increment, entailed upon the Government of England, a liability of millions of pound per year, with its infinitely greater resources, with its infinite mine industries, and its lesser number of unemployed, if you can at any time compare the unemployed of England with the unemployed of this country. Because from the beginning a question arises in our mind; are there in this country any persons who can logically be placed in the category of unemployed. What is the system of labour here? Everyone knows that the labour population goes away or wishes to go home for months together during the harvest season. Everyone knows that when there is unemployment the surplus labour is able to go home; that amongst us there is no labour force as such which is divorced from the soil, and I think that will be a bad day for India when the labour population of this country becomes a population solely subsisting on industry and having no link whatsoever with the villages.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: They are now becoming more and more so. Statistics will show that.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: At present they are not so and it should be our endeavour more and more not to create such an army, but to try and preserve the link that exists between the labouring population and the village. This applies mostly to Bengali labour. But most of the labourers that are absorbed in the industry come from outside Bengal and that is also a point to consider, namely, to what extent the revenues of Bengal which are contributed by the people of Bengal should go to create a fund for the unemployed of other provinces without a similar fund being created in those provinces themselves. A question of this type ought to be solved as an all-India question unless we did what I am most loth to do, viz., close the frontiers of Bengal to outsiders. If you prevent people from coming from outside for the purpose of earning their bread, they cannot place further burden on the people of Bengal and say when they are unemployed that "we have lost employment, you will also have to maintain us". As a matter of fact, Sir, most of these persons, as soon as they become unemployed go back to their homes and only when there is pressure

of employment they come out again. That is the reason why you have not got the spectacle of a large number of unemployed population groping about waiting for employment, at any rate, in the industrial area.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: Is it correct?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Yes, it is. Recently when there was a likelihood of increasing the number of hours in the jute mills some sort of information was attempted to be gathered in order to find out whether we could have overlapping shifts or even double shifts and it was found that there was not a sufficient number of people. In course of time by advertising, these people came from Bihar and the United Provinces——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Not from the United Provinces but from the Central Provinces.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Take Madras also and they also come from Bilaspur.

Now, Sir, the point I am driving at is this. Here in the industrial centres, the unemployed do not stay when they do become unemployed, but they go home. If you want them to be here they will increase the number of the unemployed. It is not necessary for the capitalist to keep them. As a matter of fact they are the finest army of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee and Mr. Sibnath Banerjee to make demonstrations and shout slogans when they want them to shout.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: What about Matiabruz? You know them very well. Can you say that they go home during the period of their unemployment? Answer this question.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, if the honourable gentleman wishes to ask questions he should stand up.

Now, Sir, I really do not know whom he was referring to. Is he speaking about the people in Matiabruz. It must be about some group that he is speaking of.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: Yes. There is a large number of people unemployed in Matiabruz.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: If you say the whole of Matiabruz is unemployed, then you might as well say the whole of Calcutta is unemployed.

I submit, Sir, that actually there has been no case made out why we should have an Unemployment Fund in Bengal here and be called upon to pay out of the revenues of Bengal to their fund. Middle class employment has to be dealt with in other ways and I hardly think, knowing what the pressure of unemployment in that class is, that we can ever create a fund sufficient to maintain that army. It is out of the funds of the employed, of those who work and of the employers that it is proposed to keep those who do not work or who cannot find work. The proposition of Dr. Banerjee is one which, under our present economic condition, it is impossible for us to accept. I therefore have no other alternative, in spite of my sympathy for the unemployed, than to oppose this resolution.

The motion of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee that this Assembly is of opinion that steps be taken in the next session of this House for introducing by the Government a Bill for unemployment insurance in Bengal more or less on the lines of the Bill proposed to be introduced in Madras Assembly providing for State control and sharing of financial responsibility primarily by the State and secondarily by the employers and for some years by the employees as well, was then put and lost.

Non-Denominational Primary Schools.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I beg to move that this Assembly is of opinion that general or non-denominational primary schools be immediately started in those areas where, for want of such schools, Hindus students are being compelled to read in maktabs.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, my object in moving this resolution is to draw public attention to the great handicap and the grievous wrong to which the non-Muslim population of Bengal is being subjected at the present time in the sphere of primary education. The present situation, so far as the non-Muslims are concerned, is indeed a deplorable one in that field. I do not wish to tread on controversial grounds—rather would I like to avoid as much controversy as possible—and my appeal is to the sense of fairplay and justice that I believe is inherent in human nature.

Sir, about two years ago I put a question in the Assembly enquiring how many Hindu boys were reading in maktabs in the different districts of this province and the reason for the preference of the Hindu boys to read in maktabs instead of in general primary schools. In reply the Hon'ble the Chief Minister laid a statement on the library table showing the number of Hindu students reading in maktabs and he explained away the flocking of Hindu boys to maktabs by stating that the absence of general schools in localities predominantly inhabited by Muslims accounted for it.

Now, Sir, many of us may not be aware how many Hindu students are reading in maktabs in Bengal and how they are distributed over the province. Sir, the statement that was laid on the table at the time gave us the total figure of 32,218. More than 32,000 Hindu students were therefore reading in maktabs in September, 1937, but as I have said, it was accounted for by stating that the absence of general primary schools in localities predominantly inhabited by Muhammadans was responsible for the situation. Sir, I venture to state that that was a misleading explanation, for from the statement it would appear that it was not only in the Dacca or the Chittagong Division, but in such a Division as the Burdwan Division, where the Hindus predominate, no less than 6,220 Hindu boys were reading in maktabs. Similarly in the Presidency Division 3,282 Hindu boys read in maktabs. So far as the Burdwan Division is concerned it will be seen that the number of Hindu students reading in maktabs in that division is larger than that reading in maktabs in the Rajshahi or even in the Chittagong Division, for the figure for the Rajshahi Division is 5,710 whereas the figure for the Chittagong Division is 5,911. In the Dacca Division, again, no less than 11,095 Hindu boys have been reading in maktabs. If such a situation came to prevail in any of the provinces governed by the Congress Ministers then certainly we would have seen not only a tearing agitation there but terrible breaking of heads too.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes at 5-23 p.m.)

(After adjournment.)

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr Deputy Speaker, as I was just telling the House, this unhappy situation in which a large number of Hindu boys have got to read in Maktabs is due to one and one cause only, namely, the neglect in the extension of general primary schools and resolute expansion of maktabs at the sacrifice of general primary schools. Sir, in a way that was admitted by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister in his answer to my question when he said that "the absence of general primary schools in the localities predominantly inhabited by Muslims is the cause of Hindu students reading in maktabs". Now, Sir, those who have the impression that Bengal suffers not from a paucity but from a plethora of primary schools, may ask how is it that there should be absence of general primary schools for Hindu students here. To explain matters further, I would refer here to certain other figures. Sir, most of us are aware——

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: On a point of order, Sir. The Hon'ble the Minister for Education is not here. He ought to have been here because he is the Minister in charge of this matter.

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: It is regrettable that the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has got to be away from this House only for a short time to attend a function. He did not know that this matter would come up so soon. I am quite prepared to answer on his behalf.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I would submit with great respect that the Hon'ble the Minister for Education has no business to be away from the Assembly in order to attend a special function. We do not know what it is. The Hon'ble the Minister who has just sat down cannot be expected and he has not the right to formulate the policy and speak on behalf of the Education Minister.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: What shall I do under the circumstances? I cannot expect a fair reply from any of the Hon'ble Ministers present.

(At this stage Mr Speaker took the Chair.)

Mr. Speaker, a question has arisen as to whether I should go on in the absence of the Minister in charge of Education.

Mr. SPEAKER: He is here He is just coming. We were both busy elsewhere.

Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: According to parliamentary practice the Minister in charge of the Department to which a resolution refers must be present, and if he is not present, he is liable to a great amount of censure. I remember an occasion in the Central Assembly when the Commander-in-Chief was censured, and I think Mr. Fazlul Huq is slightly less than the Commander-in-Chief.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: May I continue, Mr. Speaker?

Mr. SPEAKER: You might continue or you might wait.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I shall be very glad to wait for him.

(Pause for the arrival of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister.)

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: After all, it is only a purely political communal question. Muslim and Hindu boys——

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No, not at all. It is an educational matter.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, after your ruling has any Hon'ble Minister the right to question it?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am afraid the responsibility for the absence of the Chief Minister is solely mine. In another capacity, I must say,—and it was really unavoidable—we were both detained elsewhere. Just now he has returned and has gone for his prayers. If you like, I can adjourn the House for ten minutes.

Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: Please do so as a matter of precedence.

Mr. SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned for ten minutes.

(*After adjournment.*)

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, may I have your ruling on one point and it is this, whether legislative business should have precedence over social functions or not?

Mr. SPEAKER: Oh, yes.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, as I was telling you, this unhappy situation in which a very large number of Hindu students have got to read in maktabs is due to the fact that the expansion of general primary schools has been sadly neglected here whereas all attention has been paid to the expansion of the maktabs. Sir, it may be known to many of us that before 1915-16 maktabs were classified as special schools for the Muslims just as *tols* were classed as special schools for the Hindus. But since 1915-16 maktabs came to be classified as primary schools. The result was that since then much more attention was paid to the expansion of the maktabs than to the expansion of the general primary schools. It is just for that reason that at present owing to the absence of general primary schools in many areas even the Hindu students have got to read in maktabs. I think, Sir, I am not exaggerating facts for these are facts that defy exaggeration. If you refer to the Education Reports you will find that in 1916-17 there were 6,548 maktabs as against 35,418 general primary schools, and in 1937, that is 20 years after, there were 25,739 maktabs as against 35,778 general primary schools. In other words, in these two decades the number of maktabs increased by 19,191 while general primary schools increased only by 360. It is simply because of this unfair and inequitous policy of expansion of primary education that a situation has arisen in Bengal in which a

large number of Hindu students have got to read in maktabs. Now, Sir, this want of expansion of non-denominational primary schools is not only responsible for the fact that the Hindu students have got to read in maktabs, but that is also responsible for the further fact that the Hindu students do not now get sufficient facilities for primary education, and surely they do not get as much facilities for primary education as the Muslim students do. I may refer here to the latest report of the Education Department to substantiate my point. Sir, the report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, for the year 1937-38, that is for the last year, the responsibility for which rests with our Chief Minister, begins with the observation: "There was a marked growth of interests in educational matters, particularly in primary education." But, Sir, how was this growth of interest met in the case of the Hindus? In noting the relative progress of the Hindus and of the Muhammadans in the field of primary education the Report says:—"Classified according to communities, there are altogether 933,106 Hindu and 1,147,000 Muhammadan boys in the primary stage in 1937-38 against 888,165 and 1,066,448 respectively in the previous year", that is, in the year of grace 1937-38, the number of Hindu students in the primary stage increased only by 44,941 whereas Muslim students increased by 80,962, that is by about 81,000. It cannot be said, Sir, that much leeway was made up in the matter of primary education of the Muslims in the year 1937-38, for if we refer to the latest Quinquennial Review, we shall see that in 1936-37, of the total number of pupils in the primary stage, the proportion of Muslim students was 54:9 per cent. as against Hindu students forming 44:2 per cent. So, it is quite evident that now the Hindus are not getting adequate facilities for primary education in this province, at any rate, not getting any thing like equal opportunities with the Muslim students. Now, Sir, in this connection I would ask the House to remember what a hue and cry was raised in the Central Provinces when merely the proposal to start the Vidya Mandir Scheme was formulated. There the Muslim League organized even a civil disobedience movement, although there was in the Vidya Mandir Scheme no such provision for religious education as you find in maktabs. That was, Sir, pointed out by no less a person than Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. I simply draw the attention of the House therefore to the unfairness, the grievous wrong, which the Hindus are being subjected to in this province in the field of primary education. I shall not use the hackneyed word, rendered much hackeneyed by our Chief Minister, viz., "oppression".

Then there is another point to remember in this connection. The Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy is pleased to remark that I am making much of a communal matter in the garb of an educational question. That is not a fact. My answer is that because in this province education is

being tackled from a communal point of view, because the policy underlying the recent expansion of primary education has been a policy of maktabising the primary schools, this question has arisen, otherwise such a question would not have arisen at all. To justify my point I would refer to figures again. Although the number of students in general primary schools increased by at least three lakhs between 1917 and 1937, only 360 primary schools were added to the number of primary schools. Surely such inadequate provision is compelling the Hindu boys to read in maktabs and is arresting the growth of primary education among the Hindu masses. I would, therefore, invite the attention of the Chief Minister to these undeniable facts and differential treatment and would request him to take early steps to remedy this unhappy situation, and to follow the maxim "Do to others as you wish to be done by". Sir, in 1937 I was somewhat encouraged by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister's reply to a supplementary question put by me. The question was: "Will the Hon'ble Minister for Education be pleased to refer to his answer and state whether he is considering the desirability of establishing general primary schools in those areas predominantly inhabited by Muhammadans in view of the fact that there are maktabs in areas predominantly inhabited by Hindus?" The Chief Minister's reply was to this effect: "Yes, Sir, the question will be taken up along with the question of introduction of ordinary primary schools in the province." But, Sir, nothing has been done since then and the question is becoming more and more acute with the passage of time.

I have only one more point to mention. It might be questioned, why do you object to Hindu students reading in maktabs? Sir, the obvious reply is that maktabs are only secular institutions in name, they are really Islamic reilgious institutions—schools with a particular theocratic outlook. Sir, my description of a maktab may not be accepted by those who are lovers of maktabs but let me refer here to the description of maktabs as you will find it in the departmental report. The Eighth Quinquennial Review says: "Maktabs are general primary schools on Islamic basis intended for Moslem scholars. These schools are also open to other boys" as they must be, Sir, from the point of view of those who desire cultural conversion or religious proselytization. The Review then proceeds: "in these schools the ordinary primary syllabus is followed and text-books by Muhammadan authors are generally used. In addition, the reading of the holy Quoran, Islamic ritual, and Urdu are additional compulsory subjects alternative to drill." It is admitted, therefore, that maktabs are institutions on Islamic basis. They have more the character of religious institutions than of secular schools, and they pursue an Islamic cultural scheme.

Not only that. There is another point to remember. These maktabs are very inefficient primary schools. Those who are lovers of

maktabs and want to advance the interests of the Muslim community may suffer their boys to read in the maktabs, but why should others be compelled to get indifferent primary education and read in inefficient primary schools? Sir, when I level this charge against maktabs I am not here airing any particular view of my own or giving expression to any prejudiced opinion of mine. Permit me, Sir, to refer here only to what has been said about maktab education in Bengal by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission. They observed:

> "The official reports and the evidence which we have received indicate very clearly that generally speaking these institutions have done but little to raise the general standard of education among Muhammadans to that of other communities, that a great many of them are accentuating the educational backwardness of the community, that their enrolment is increasing year by year and that a continuance of these institutions on a large scale would be prejudicial both to the interests of the Muhammadans themselves and to the public interest."

I want the House to mark and note the words "and to the public interest". Then they go on further to say:—

> "It is however in the 'special' schools that the Muhammadan pupils suffer most from the relative inefficiency of the segregated institutions—madrasahs, maktabs and other schools—which they attend. It has been noted that the special institutions are to be found mainly in Bengal, the United Provinces and Behar." "In Bengal", they continue, "the United Provinces and Behar, the evidence as to the inefficiency of the 'special' institutions is almost unanimous." "An Inspector of Schools in Bengal has stated that 'the maktabs and madrasahs are extremely inefficient. This is not prejudiced criticism but is the unanimous verdict of the Muhammadan Inspectors'."

For more than one reason, therefore, I question the propriety of driving even the Hindu boys to the folds of the maktabs.

Sir, I have finished what I had to say and could say in the time at my disposal. I would only request the Chief Minister to consider this question dispassionately, not as a Muslim but as a responsible minister in charge of education of this great province.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to say a few words in support of the resolution of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri. I wish that the Hindu boys and the Muhammadan boys

should read together, should play together and, if possible, should dine together, and should have the same dress and the same food which is necessary for the climate of this country. But, Sir, of late some of the books of muktabs were placed before me by a certain friend of mine and I had occasion to go through them. Mr. Speaker, Sir, you know that religious instructions have been made compulsory in muktabs and in the primary schools too, and in reading the books I found instructions therein which should not be read either by Hindus or by Muhammadans. It seems to me, Sir—I do not know whether the House will agree with me or not—that religious instructions should not be taught in any primary schools whether they are Hindu schools or they are Muhammadan schools. As a matter of fact unimaginable atrocities are being committed in the name of religion and we are trading upon religion and I say that religion stings into my nostril. I openly say that I am neither a Hindu nor a Muslim but an Indian. I want that we Hindus and Muslims should live together, read together, play together, have the same dress and have the same food and our boys should do the same. Sir, I wish for the common good of this country that religious books should not be read either by Hindu boys or Muslim boys in schools and religious instructions should not be made compulsory in any primary school. On these grounds Sir, I support the resolution, not on the ground advocated by the last speaker.

Maulana MD. ABDUL AZIZ: আমাদের এই হাউসের মেম্বার মিঃ হরেন্দ্রনাথ চৌধুরী মক্তব সম্বন্ধে যা বোলেছেন, তার বিরুদ্ধে আমার কিছু বক্তব্য আছে। খুব সম্ভব হরেন বাবু মক্তব শব্দটার নাম শুনেই কেঁপে উঠেছেন, তিনি তলিয়ে দেখেন নাই যে তার ভিতর কি আছে। (A MEMBER FROM THE CONGREES PARTY ভিতরের অবস্থা জেনে শুনেই বলা হোয়েছে।) আমার কথা হোচ্ছে এই যে যদি তলিয়ে দেখতেন তাহলে তিনি দেখতে পেতেন যে, সেখানে আর কোন প্রভেদ নেই। প্রভেদের মধ্যে এই আছে যে আমরা বাল্যকালে যখন ছাত্র ছিলাম তখন যে সব পুস্তক পড়েছি, তার মধ্যে মুসলমানের কোন পয়গম্বর বা পীরের নাম বা তাদের কোন গল্প থাকতো না। যা থাকতো তা কেবল শ্রীরামচন্দ্র, বা ব্যাস, বশিষ্ঠ প্রভৃতির কথা এবং সেই সব পোড়েই আমরা বাংলা ভাষা শিখেছি। বর্ত্তমানে মক্তব সাহিত্যে মুসলমান মনীষীদের জীবন কাহিনী আছে, তা ছাড়া হিন্দু, বৌদ্ধ ও খৃষ্টানদের কথাও আছে; এই রকম পুস্তক যদি মক্তবে পোড়তে দেওয়া হোয়ে থাকে তাহলে হিন্দুদের হিন্দুয়ানী কি কোরে নষ্ট হয়? গত শতশত বৎসর ধোরে আমরা পূর্ব্বোক্ত প্রকারের পুস্তক পোড়ে বাংলা শিখেছি, তাতো আমাদের ধর্ম্মের কোন ক্ষতি হয় নাই, রাম সীতার কাহিনী পোড়েছি—কত কিছু পোড়েছি তাতে আমাদের মুসলমানি নষ্ট হয় নাই, আর এখন মুসলমানের বই পোড়লেই হিন্দুদের হিন্দুয়ানি যেতে লেগেছে, এ কেমন ধর্ম? এ ধর্ম্মের মধ্যে তাহলে কি শক্তি আছে? যাই পড়ান হোক, কিছু সময় বালকেরা ধর্ম্মালোচনা কোরবে। আমি বলি মুসলমান ছেলেরা যে সময়টা তাদের

ধর্ম্মের বিষয় শিখ্‌বে সেই সময় হিন্দু ছেলেরা ও তাদের ধর্ম্মের বিষয় শিখ্‌বে, এই রকম একটা বন্দোবস্ত করা উচিত। ধীরেন বাবু বোলেছেন যে হিন্দু ও না, মুসলমান ও না, কেউ ধর্ম্ম শিখ্‌বেনা। আমি বলি—ধীরেন বাবু, আমরা কি বিলাত যাবো? আমাদের বিলাত গেলে চোল্‌বেনা। এই বাংলাদেশেই হিন্দুর হিন্দু হোয়ে এবং মুসলমানের মুসলমান হোয়ে থাক্‌তে হবে। কাজেই আমি বলি এই সিষ্টেমের কোন ক্রিটিসিজম্‌ না কোরে মুসলমানরা যে ঘন্টাটা ধর্ম্ম শিখ্‌বে হিন্দুদের সম্বন্ধেও সেই ঘন্টাটায় সেই ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত। যদি তা না হয় তাহলে মুসলমান ও মুসলমান থাক্‌বে না, হিন্দু ও হিন্দু থাক্‌বেনা—একটা তৃতীয় ধর্ম্ম এসে উপস্থিত হবে, ফলে আজ যে, দুনিয়ায় হিন্দু বোলে পরিচয় দিচ্ছে—সে হিন্দু থাক্‌বেনা, সেই রকম মুসলমান ও মুসলমান থাক্‌বেনা এবং হিন্দু-মুসলমান কেউই বোলবে না, যে আমরা হিন্দু বা মুসলমান। ধর্ম্ম প্রত্যেকেরই বজায় থাকা চাই। হিন্দু হোয়ে হিন্দুরা বাঁচ্‌বে, মুসলমান হোয়ে মুসলমানরা বাঁচ্‌বে আমি আশা করি ইহার বিরুদ্ধাচরণ কেউ কোর্‌বেন না। সেই জন্য আমি আশা করি মাননীয় হরেন বাবু যে প্রস্তাব কোরেছেন তাহা উঠিয়ে নেবেন।

ধীরেন বাবু আর একটা কথা বোলেছেন হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মিল থাকা সম্বন্ধে। মিল থাক্‌বে কোন হিসাবে? মুসলমান মুসলমান থেকেই। হিন্দু বা খৃষ্টান হয়ে মিল নয়। সেই জন্য আমি বোল্‌ছি—ধীরেন বাবু আপনার ভুল। এবং ঐ কথাটা ভুলে গেলে চোলবে না। সুধু ধীরেন বাবুই যে হিন্দুয়ানী ছেড়ে দিয়েছেন তা নয়, মুসলমানের মধ্যেও এমন লোক আছে যারা মুসলমানী ছেড়ে দিয়েছে। আমি তাদের নিন্দা কোর্‌ছি।

আমি আশা করি মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহোদয় হিন্দু-মুসলমান উভয়েরই যাতে ধর্ম্মশিক্ষা হয় তার ব্যবস্থা কোর্‌বেন। এবং যদি তিনি তা না করেন, তিনি খোদার কাছে দায়ী হবেন (Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: আমরা রাজি আছি।) একথা কেউ অস্বীকার কোর্‌বেন না যে বাল্যকালে ধর্ম্মজ্ঞান যদি না জন্মে তবে বড় হলে আর ধর্ম্মজ্ঞান জন্মিতে চায় না। প্রাইমারী শিক্ষায় যা কিছু শিখ্‌বে তা দ্বারা ভবিষ্যতের ভালো হবে, ছোট সময় ধর্ম্মজ্ঞান না হোলে সে ধর্ম্মজ্ঞান আর সহজে আস্‌বে না। আমি জানি মুসলমানের মধ্যেও এমন লোক আছে যারা ঐ ধীরেন বাবুর মতনই চায় যাতে ইস্‌লামী শিক্ষা না হোতে পারে। তা দ্বারা ফল কি হবে? আমি সকলকেই বোল্‌বো, হিন্দুকেও বোলবো, মুসলমান-কেও বোলবো—কিছুদিন পর সকলকেই যেতে হবে খোদার কাছে। যেয়ে সেখানে দায়ী হোতে হবে। তিনি জিজ্ঞাসা কোর্‌বেন কে কি কোরেছে? তিনি জিজ্ঞাসা কোর্‌বেন মাননীয় ফজলুল হক সাহেবকে "তুমি ঠিকমত কাজ করেছো কি না" সেইজন্য আমি অনুরোধ কোর্‌ছি—তাঁকে বিশেষ কোরে যাতে হিন্দু-মুসলমান উভয়েরই ধর্ম্মশিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা হয়—তিনি তাই কোর্‌বেন।

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The question may now be put.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the House to one fact only——(VOICES FROM CONGRESS BENCHES: Sir, the question may now be put).

Mr. SPEAKER: It is very difficult for me to put the question now when one of the speakers of your group wants to speak. Mr. Dutt and Maulana Sahib have spoken and I think one more speaker should speak——

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Sir, I don't want to speak.

Dr. SYAMAPROSAD MOOKERJEE: Sir, may I speak a few words on this motion?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Sir, my friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri has brought before the House a matter of very great importance to the future educational expansion of this province. Sir, I hold this view definitely that we should have, if possible, institutions where boys of all nationalities can read together. That is no doubt the best educational ideal not only in this country but everywhere else. I shall not deal with the question of imparting religious instruction in our schools—as to whether that should be a part of the educational curricula—or if it is done, how it should be done. But, Sir, I sympathise with the view point of the previous speaker.

Sir, I would like to say that it will do a lot of good to every one of us if our education could cease to be a godless one as it has been during the last eighty years (hear, hear). But, Sir, the problem here is not whether there should be a common school open to all communities, but the question is whether there should be a special class of schools intended for one particular community and members of other communities should be compelled to read in such schools. That is the question which we are discussing here today. Sir, if things were so simple as described by the previous speaker, namely, that the text-books for maktabs only contained writings about great men belonging to the Hindu, the Muslim and the Christian communities, then may I ask what was the necessity for maktabs at all? For if you examine the syllabus and the instructions which are now given to the authors for writing text-books for ordinary primary schools, you will find that during the last few years, authors are now called upon to devote portions of the text-books to the lives and works of distinguished men belonging to all communities, and such text-books are now being used in ordinary primary and secondary schools. But, Sir, the point is this. We find that to-day in the province there are these institutions,

called maktabs, which are not following the common syllabus and curriculum. The Government resolution on the subject says that the curriculum would be more or less the same, barring the provision for religious education, but special instructions have been issued to the effect that books should be written specially suitable for maktabs. I am not discussing the wisdom of that policy, because maktabs are primarily meant for the Muslim community and Government has every right to issue instructions that books which will be especially prescribed for the maktabs, which are institutions primarily meant for Muhammadans, should specially represent Islamic thoughts. Having devoted considerable time in examining these text-books and having also devoted considerable time in examining the manner in which education is imparted in those institutions, my deliberate and definite opinion is that we who belong to the Hindu community do not want that our boys and girls should receive instruction in those institutions under those conditions. Let me not be misunderstood. I leave it entirely for the Muslim community to decide whether the present policy regarding the maktabs, the text-books, the manner of education, selection of teachers and the religious instruction should be continued or not. That is a matter entirely for them to decide. But they are definitely injurious to the interests of Hindu boys and girls. I found a text-book which says '*Murti puja pap kaj*'. Idolatry is an act of sin. It may be that that sort of instruction to the Muhammadan boys and girls is beneficial although I doubt if that is so, but in any case we do not want that Hindu boys and girls should receive instruction under those conditions. In one of the text-books I was horrified to find the following words "গোমাংস অতি সুস্বাদু" (beef is very tasteful). Perhaps that is so with regard to the Muslim community, but what right have you to say that such text-books should be read by Hindu boys and girls who will be compelled to receive their instruction in those institutions? I have seen that many institutions have been deliberately removed from Hindu quarters and erected in the Muslim quarters on the ground that since the majority of the boys and girls are Muslims, the schools should be removed to those areas. The interests of the Hindu boys and girls have not been taken into consideration, and I have evidence before me to show that the Hindu guardians do feel nervous to send their girls to such institutions. This is a matter which can be discussed without any heat whatsoever. It is a matter which vitally concerns the educational progress of the Hindus of this Province. I say it with every emphasis and with a full sense of responsibility that if this programme of education continues in the way in which it is going on now, then it will really mean a good-bye to the educational progress of the Hindus of this Province. I would therefore appeal to the Hon'ble Chief Minister, who is also the Minister for Education, not as a representative of the Muslim community but as a Minister for Education in whose hands rests the future educational

development of all the communities of this province, to get up here in this House in connection with this debate and give an assurance to this House that he will examine this question and see that the policy is changed and all these legitimate grievances of the Hindus are removed at the earliest possible opportunity.

I find from the figures which have been read out by the mover of this resolution that not only these maktabs are flourishing where Hindu boys and girls are in a minority and are compelled to read in Eastern Bengal, but also in Western Bengal where Hindus are predominantly a majority. There, in some places, the only primary institutions being the maktabs, the Hindus who form 80 per cent. of the Western Bengal population have to send their boys and girls to those institutions. Government figures say that the number of maktabs in the Burdwan Division alone is 5,000.

Therefore if you say that there is no distinction between primary schools and maktabs then I shall say abolish the maktabs and have only one kind of curriculum, one list of text-books, and one method of recruitment of teachers which we will be able to follow in all schools. If on the other hand, you say that Muslim interests demand that there should be separate treatment for the Muslims, then I say give us liberty to have our own text-books and our own method of education for Hindu boys and girls as you are claiming for Muslims.

Yesterday there was a talk of rights and interests of the minorities. The resolution on war says that the future constitution of India is to depend on the approval of recognised minorities. I am not a recognised minority, but even the hundreds and thousands of students belonging to the recognised minority community, I mean, Scheduled Castes, are receiving instruction in these institutions. I would therefore appeal to the Chief Minister to give us an assurance which the whole Province will welcome that this matter will be looked into in a manner which will mean saving of the educational interests of the Hindus of this province.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Before I make my submission to the House regarding the points that have been discussed I feel I owe an apology to my colleagues in consequence of my absence from the House when the resolution happened to be taken up. I had occasion to attend a public function and I did so because I felt that this resolution was fairly low in the list and there would hardly be any chance of its coming up so early but I was somewhat amused to hear a remark from my friend Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, who wanted to remind me that the duty in the Legislative Assembly must be taken to be superior to all other duties. So far as my friend is concerned I would only ask him to tell the House when the proper opportunity comes whether he considers the duty of money making inferior to the duty of attending sittings of the Assembly.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: But you are not making money in the University.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I have an excuse.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Does the Hon'ble Minister want me to reply now?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Not now but when the time comes.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I may say now that money making has never stood in the way of my attending the sittings of this House.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Then we will have sittings of the House every day from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Can you manage with the Europeans?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Why not!

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Can you?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Certainly I can. It has become a fashion to say that we care so much for the Europeans; we do not. As a matter of fact the division lists will show that we have won except on one occasion without European votes. Take away the European votes and you will find that the majority remains.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BOSE: Except on the supreme occasion.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: That of course.

Coming to the resolution itself I consider that it is extremely unfortunate that such a resolution was moved and debated upon in this House. My friend Mr. Chaudhuri may deny, but there is no escape from the fact that this resolution stands silhouetted against a communal background (RAI HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Yes, silhouetted!) and has raised discussion of a communal character. It would have been better if my friend had met me at a friendly conference and given me instances, definite instances in which the Hindu boys have found difficulty in receiving instructions. Let me make one point absolutely clear. Anyone claiming himself to be a civilized human being is not fit to put forward that claim if he seeks to force

his own views and convictions on others, and far less his own religious views and convictions. ("Hear, hear" from Opposition Benches.) Sir, I consider it my duty to advance the cause of education not merely amongst Muslims, but amongst all the communities that inhabit this province, and I hope I can claim, and I can say so in all sincerity that I do look upon all the children of Bengal as good as my own children and as children of my own community. (Cheers from the Opposition Benches.) It may be that I may be making mistakes. I admit that I am extremely zealous in furthering the cause of Muslim education in this province. I make no secret of my policy. I have devoted the best years of my life to advance Muslim education, not because I wish to treat Muslims as a favourite community, but I believe that the Muslims can come up to the standard to which we wish all the communities to come up if only they can get proper facilities. Muslim boys, just as much as Hindu boys belong to the same country ("Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.) they live in the same country, they breathe the same atmosphere, they grow up under the same environments, and I do not see why a Muslim boy should be considered intellectually unfit merely because he is a Muslim. He is not so. Given the opportunities he will come up, and the best solution of all the communal problems in the country, the best solution of the necessity of all these safeguards and special privileges lie in levelling up the Muslims, the Scheduled Castes and the less advanced communities to the point which has been reached by the advanced communities. (Cheers from the Opposition Benches.)

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: And not by levelling down the Hindus.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Not in the least by levelling down the Hindus.

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, I am very sorry that you are interrupting deliberately in defiance of your Leader's views in front. I have been noticing it for some time.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I do not for a moment mean to suggest that there may not be difficulties experienced by Hindu boys in the moffusil areas. I know myself there have been cases in which most Hindu boys have found it difficult to get their instruction in muktabs and in one or two cases in the course of my tour, representations have been made to me ("Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.) and I have promised that I would look into the matter, and in some cases I have been able to remove the difficulties. The real difficulty arises from the fact that the Hindus and Muslims in various parts of the country are most unevenly distributed. In

some places there is an overwhelming Muslim population with a sprinkling of Hindus and in some cases there is an overwhelming Hindu population with a sprinkling of Muslims. If we are to have a special institution for Muslims, a special institution for Caste Hindus, a special institution for Scheduled Castes, the resources of Bengal certainly would not be adequate, nor do I think it would be a very wise policy to try to have denominational institutions, if we can help them. ("Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.) What we have done, Sir, is this. We have tried to change as far as possible the old curriculum of studies in the muktabs in order to make them more acceptable to non-Muslims. May be, there are cases in which text-books have been introduced and used in which expressions occur which are objectionable to our Hindu brethren. Similarly, there are text-books which are used, to which exceptions have been taken by Muslims. All these things have happened and will happen so long as people do not learn to respect the feelings and sentiments of others, but these are exceptions rather than rules, and I promise in this House that if any definite instances of these text-books being used are brought to my notice, I shall make the utmost endeavour to replace such text-books by those which are more acceptable to the various communities. ("Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.) I do not wish to discuss the figures. The more I discuss the figures, Sir, the more unpleasant will become the debate. People will say that debates of this kind only show that you cannot advance one single step either educationally or otherwise in India without raising communal issues. I will therefore say nothing, but I will give the House this assurance that I will look very closely into this question not in a spirit of favouritism towards any community but in an impartial spirit, and I hope in a very short time my friend Mr. Chaudhuri will find that there is no further complaint so far as the Hindu boys are concerned. I consider it my duty to look to the complaints that have been made, but let me tell the House far more complaints come to me from the Muslim community, and it is with the greatest difficulty that I have restrained them from ventilating their grievances in the House. They always come to me and make complaints; some of course are based on sentimental grounds, and some are substantial. But I appeal to all, both Hindus and Muslims, not to discuss these questions in the House but to come to me and tell me, and if the action I take is not satisfactory, then certainly they are open to bring the matter to the notitce of the whole House and to discuss the question openly.

Now, Sir, so far as these difficulties are concerned, one of my friends was just reminding me that Muslim boys feel difficulty in reading in Hindu institutions. The Daulatpore Hindu Academy is a case in point. There, it was said to me that the Muslim boys are not allowed to read Persian or Arabic.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJI: No, they are allowed now.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Yes, now an arrangement has been made. Persian and Arabic are taught outside the College rooms. I do not wish to read to the House the list of the grievances of the Muslims as against the grievances of the Hindus and to see whether they balance one another or which prevails.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: We would like you to remove all.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I hope, Sir, I will be able to achieve that feat. I can at least make an attempt, and I do not for a moment share the communal feeling that may have been raised on either side of the House. It would be extremely improper if I did so. I hope with the help and co-operation of my friends, the leaders of all the communities, we would be able to evolve a system of primary education which will be acceptable to all concerned.

There are difficulties. Where there is an overwhelming Muslim population the Hindu boys find difficulty. Where there is an overwhelming Hindu population the Muslim boys find difficulty. We have got to steer our course very carefully, and in this case all that I promise is that I shall look into the matter. I do not wish the House to carry the idea that I am determined by some methods to stifle Hindu education, specially the education of Hindu boys and girls.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Do you accept the resolution?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I do not accept the implications of the resolution. What I do is this that I accept there is room for grievances.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Are you not establishing general primary schools in those areas which are predominantly inhabited by Hindus? The request is a very simple one.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Where the question of finance and other things comes in I cannot give a reply straightaway. I would ask the Director of Public Instruction immediately to put up a report and the honourable member will be perfectly at liberty to put questions to me as to what I have been doing. If that will satisfy him I should like this resolution to be withdrawn, and I may be given an opportunity of doing what I can for considering grievances so far as they are real.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, after the speech of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister I have been asked by my friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri to say that he does not wish to reply. On behalf of my party I make this suggestion, which I hope will be acceptable to the Chief Minister, that after the present session of the Assembly is over, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister may call a conference and invite Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri on behalf of the Congress Party, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerji on behalf of the Nationalist Party, the Leader of the Krishak Proja Party, a member of the Independent Scheduled Caste Party and a member from his own group, to discuss the whole question with particular reference to the suggestion made by Mr. Chaudhuri, that general or non-denominational primary schools be immediately started in those areas where for want of such school Hindu students are being compelled to read in maktabs. I think, such a conference will go a long way towards meeting the grievances of the Hindus in those areas where there are no Hindu schools or general schools in existence.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I very gladly accept the suggestion, and I promise to call a conference. Only I shall like the conference to be as representative as possible of the Hindu and Muslim points of view. If Muslims have got any grievances let the Hindus hear them; and if Hindus have grievances let the Muslims hear them. Let us come to a sort of agreed settlement. I shall be extremely grateful if I am helped by my friend in this respect.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, I entirely agree with the Hon'ble the Chief Minister that it should be a representative conference. In view of what he has said, I on behalf of my party withdraw the resolution.

The resolution of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that this Assembly is of opinion that general or non-denominational primary schools be immediately started in those areas where for want of such schools Hindu students are being compelled to read in maktabs, was then by leave of the House withdrawn.

Fixation of Minimum price for Jute.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that this Assembly is of opinion that immediate steps be taken by the Government of Bengal to fix the minimum price of jute at rupees ten per maund.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, Mr. Abu Hossain Sarker, the resolution of Mr. Serajul Islam comes earlier in order of precedence. Mr. Serajul Islam, do you want to move your resolution or not?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. The subject matter of this resolution is already in possession of the House in the form of a provision in the Agricultural Produce Markets Bill. As the House has got that Bill before it, I do not think it can take up this subject over again.

Single system of weight.

Mr. SERAJUL ISLAM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I formally move that this Assembly is of opinion that there shall be only one single system of weight at the rate of 80 tolas per seer throughout the province in all business of weight.

In these days of increased communications and for the matter of that increased commerce, trades and industries, there is an ever increasing demand for a well organised and uniform system of weights and measures not only in a particular province but in the whole of India.

If we read the Government of India's report of the Weights and Measures Committee of 1913-14 we read the following remarks——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: What about my point of order, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the provision of the Bill is concerned it is being examined. I have sent for it. But until it is passed the House has full right to discuss the resolution

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: At what stage is the Bill?

Mr. SPEAKER: It does not matter at what stage it is.

Mr. DHIRENIRA NATH DUTTA: The resolution is accepted by the House. What is the use of reading the speech?

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: Let it then be understood that Government benches do not want other resolutions to come up.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I rise on a point of order, Sir. Do you allow remarks such as have been made by the Hon'ble Whip of the Congress Party? We seek your protection, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think any protection is needed for you. From what I have seen from parliamentary institutions I feel that it is a common language which is used by both parties, and I would congratulate both parties if they could successfully do it.

Yes, Mr. Serajul Islam?

Mr. SERAJUL ISLAM: Sir, as I was saying, if we read the Government of India's Report of the Weights and Measures Committee of 1913-14 we read the following remarks:—

> "The greatest diversity in weights and measures in different districts even in different parts of the same town and of the same district, tends to create an element of uncertainty in trade and renders fraud on the part of retailers as easy as it is profitable and it exposes the poor and silent classes to the constant liability of being cheated."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is such a known and hard fact that it needs no explanation excepting this that after extensive tours throughout the length and breadth of India, the members of the Committee, made the above statements and other suggestions for immediate action for the purpose.

The Government of India tried to solve the problem by section 8 of the India Weights and Measures of Capacity Act, XXXI of 1871, which gave power to the Governor-General in Council to introduce a consistent system with a statutory unit prescribed by section 3 of the Act.

But, Sir, so far as my humble information goes I can say that the said pious hope has not yet been materialised; although Railways and Government Departments have adopted as their standard weights the tola of 180 grains, the seer of 80 tolas, and the maund of 40 seers.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, of all the institutions why have the Railways and Government Departments adopted the said weight as their standard? Obviously they have examined it and found it thoroughly useful and convenient for their purpose for which weights and measures are meant.

In the above-mentioned report of the Weights and Measures Committee we also read a statement that the most common seer in use is the seer of 80 tolas. The kacha seer of 60 tolas is used for ordinary commodities in retail trades in Bakarganj, Birbhum, Bogra, Faridpur, Jalpaiguri, Midnapore, Khulna, Murshidabad, Mymensingh, Pabna, Rajshahi, 24-Parganas, and in portions of Bankura, Jessore and Rangpur.

The 60 tola seer is also used for agricultural produce in Burdwan, in retail trade in dry fish and milk in Chittagong, for medicine in Dacca, for various articles in Dinajpur and for molasses and tobacco in Nadia.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you will be surprised to hear that there are various other seers in use in various parts of the province of Bengal, such as 52, 55, 58, 58⅝, 62, 64, 70, 72, 75, 78, 81, 82⅝, 90, 96, tolas.

In wholesale purchase, Sir, there are special weights like 82⅝ tolas for cotton in Chittagong; for rice, sugar, etc., in Dacca; for paddy, rice and mustard in Dinajpur; for country produce in Midnapur; for paddy, rice, betelnut, etc. in Mymensingh; and for rice in Bakarganj, Tippera and 24-Parganas. The seer of 120 tolas for sugar in Bakarganj; the seer of 84⅝ tolas for jute in Dacca, Pabna and 24-Parganas; and for paddy, jute, rice, mustard and other grains in Mymensingh.

Sir, other seers of wholesale trade are of 81, 82, 76⅝, 83, 85, 86, 90, 96, 100, 84$\frac{21}{32}$, 88, 75, 58 tolas. Besides, various seers are used in the same district for different purposes, e.g. in Chittagong there are seers of 16, 52, 60, 64, 70, 75, 80, 82, 82⅝, 83, 84, 85, 86, 90, 96 and 100 tolas while in Chittagong Hill Tracts trade in cotton is carried on in different parts by seers of 84, 85, 120 tolas——

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: On a point of order, Sir. You have been kind enough to say in the open House that possibly Government side do not like the motion to be moved. In the circumstances may I make one appeal about the time? I submit that the time should at least be extended to 15 or 20 minutes to close the debate.

Mr. SPEAKER: You know Mr. Shamsuddin it is very difficult for me to do so.

Mr. SERAJUL ISLAM: Then, Sir, much more curious is the fact that there are places where the number of seers to the maund in wholesale varies. For instance in Chittagong it is reported that——

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: On a point of order, Sir. You called the speaker to move his motion and in the circumstances may we ask you to extend the time——

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, Mr. Gupta, I cannot extend the time to-night. You should realise my difficulty. I cannot promise, but I shall see if another day could be allotted for non-official business.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: But it is a matter of great importance——

Mr. SPEAKER: I think Mr. Gupta you know my difficulties and should not insist. I must adjourn the House now.

Adjournment.

It being 7-58 p.m.—

The House was adjourned till 4 p.m. on Monday, the 18th December, 1939, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 18th December, 1939, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 223 members.

The War Resolution.

[The debate on the War Resolution was resumed.]

Mrs. HASINA MURSHED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have listened with much interest and profit to the illuminating speeches made by the honourable members on both sides of this House in connection with the resolution which is under consideration. I think, Sir, we are now in a better position than on the first day of the debate to give our verdict on a resolution of such an important character. I support this resolution, Sir, in spite of the fact that we Mussalmans as a community have a long catalogue of grievances against the British Government. ("Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.) I will not, however, attempt to rip-open old sores lest their painful memories should get the better of our generous instincts. I support this resolution in spite of the fact that the indictment drawn up the other day by the Leader of the Opposition about the declaration made by Great Britain still remains unrebutted. We trust that it will be possible for the custodian of British interests in this House to vindicate the military policy of Great Britain in connection with the Great War of 1914 to 1918. I support this resolution, Sir, because, from the materials so far available it appears that Germany has forced itself on the war path with a view to annexing the smaller and weaker countries in defiance of all canons of international obligations and morality. Such an aggressive action on the part of Hitler cannot but rouse the indignation of right-minded people of the world. I support this resolution, because I fear that our refusal of support to Great Britain in the present war might result in the victory of Hitler. The victory of Hitler is the victory, I think, of an irresponsible dictatorship and of ruthless despotism. If I remember aright, Sir, I think it was Lloyd George who observed about the war of 1914 that by

submitting to Germany, the world would be submitting not to a Germany which inspired noble thoughts by her street songs, not to a Germany which produced virile scientists and philosophers, but to a Germany which spoke through Krupps machine-guns, to a Germany which harnessed science to the chariot of death and destruction. I support this resolution, because I believe that the description given in 1914 applies with equal force to the present Hitler-ridden Germany with her totalitarian war aims. I support this resolution, because, it embodies the demand that soon after the successful termination of the present war, Great Britain should turn her attention to her domestic affairs and give India Dominion Status, which is her long overdue and give her that constitution to which all the communities will be willing parties.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the resolution which has been moved by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister. I shall not deal with the first or second part of the resolution in support of which enough has been said during the last two days of the debate. It is only with the third and last part of the resolution that I propose to deal

Now, what is it that this part of the resolution demands? It is simply this that the minorities in India must have safeguards, against discrimination, injustice and tyranny, which they consider adequate for their own protection, also that the Constitution, under which the 80 million Muslims, 40 million Scheduled Castes and several millions of other minorities are to live in future, must be framed with their full approval and consent. I should have thought, Sir, that no Indian with any sense of justice and fairness would have opposed this demand, but most unfortunately both inside this House and outside there are men who call themselves to be patriots and nationalists, and yet whose patriotism has not been able to rise above the narrowest considerations of perpetual communal aggrandisement. They say that they are willing to give full protection to the minorities, but in actual practice, they make proposals which are so framed that the minorities will never be protected, but will for ever be condemned to depend upon the tender mercies of the majority composed of the caste Hindus. I submit, Sir, this is the sole object with which the Congress has asked for a Constituent Assembly. I shall not here deal with the difficulties of electing such an Assembly in the present state of political backwardness among the masses of our country. Let us for the sake of argument concede that those difficulties will be surmounted and that by some magical process such an Assembly can be elected consisting of men and women each of whom is capable of understanding the problems with which the Assembly will be confronted. Now, Sir, what will be the communal composition of such an Assembly? Mr. Gandhi has said "each community will be represented in its proportion to the population of the country". He has also in his overflowing generosity said that as

far as the Muslim representatives are concerned, they will be elected through separate electorates. Even then, would not the Muslims in the Constituent Assembly represent only about 25 per cent. of its voting strength? What chance then is there of their suggestions or their proposals being accepted?

Is it not as clear as I see our friends sitting over there in the national glory of the Khadder uniforms, that the Muslims will be outvoted by the Hindus on every important issue? This question had already been raised by Muslim leaders and the Muslim Press and what is the reply that Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and other shining lights of the Congress have given to them? They have said that if on any matter agreement between the majority community and the minority communities is not found possible then a majority of votes will decide the issue. Some of them have also suggested that such outstanding points in dispute may be referred to arbitration. I ask whose arbitration? Is it to be arbitration by a Royal Commission? If so, why are you afraid of such arbitration in the case of Muslim charges against Congress administration?

From all these, Sir, it will be clear that the policy of the Congress is tricky and tortuous and that the designs and intentions of the Congress are dishonest in the highest degree. The Congress talks of democracy, the Congress talks of freedom, the Congress talks of justice and fairplay to the minorities but the leaders of the Congress do so with their tongues in their cheeks. They talk of democracy because it means that the Caste Hindus of India will for ever dominate and rule this country under a system of Western Democracy. No one in this world need presume to teach to the Muslims what democracy is because it was Islam that ushered democracy into the world. But the Parliamentary variety of democracy the West has perfected, is unacceptable to the Muslims. Its evil effects in its application to the Indian provinces has proved a tragic failure. This morning the newspapers have published incontrovertible evidence from the pen of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister himself which will not leave any doubt in the mind of any person with the slightest sense of justice that under this democracy, the Congress Party which is a Hindu Party has committed upon the helpless minorities the most inhuman and the most brutal injustices and outrages. The religious rights of the helpless Muslims have been trampled under foot, even their elementary right to offer their prayers and call azan has been denied to them, in innumerable places they have been persecuted, harassed, assaulted and pillaged. This is what democracy in India proved to be. Thus has democracy treated those whose voice were fewer at the polls and whose heads were less numerous in the counting.

This is why the resolution before the House demands that no constitution that may hereafter be framed should be imposed upon the minorities in India without their consent and approval. The minorities must first

of all make sure that the constitution under which they will be destined to live in a country which belongs as much to them as to anybody else, contains no provision under which they may again suffer what they have suffered during the two and a half years of Congress rule. That is a demand which the minorities have every right to make and which it is the duty of the British Government to concede. I know, Sir, that there are men even in England who for reasons best known to them are carrying on the most un-British and the most despicable propaganda among their own countrymen which is intended to bring pressure on the British Government to throw the Indian minorities to the hungry and waiting wolves in the wilderness of Congress India. We know of men who were executed for high treason against his own motherland, what wonder is there that he should have left behind people capable of treason to the minorities in other parts of the empire.

Sir, as regards the safeguards the present Government of India Act has provided any amount of thought on paper but what have we seen in actual practice? These safeguards have not been worth the paper they were written on. In their anxiety to make the constitution work somehow or other the Governors have miserably failed to discharge the duties solemnly imposed upon by them by the British Parliament. They have failed to save the minorities from the most inhuman atrocities to which they were subjected through the regime of the Congress Ministers, and therefore, we Muslims decline to accept as satisfactory any safeguards which leave discretion with the Governors or even the Governor-General. We want the safeguards to be written down categorically in the Statute Book itself and we claim the right to say what these safeguards are to be.

Sir, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose has told this House that co-operation could exist between two equals and that he did not understand how there could be any co-operation between the master and the bond slave. I quite agree with him. But may I remind him that by using these words he has himself lent strength to the Muslim demand? The Muslims also say that they are quite prepared to co-operate with the Hindus on equal terms and there can be no co-operation unless the Hindus recognise the equality of the Muslims of India in political importance in this country.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookherjee on the last occasion when the resolution was under debate in this House made a brilliant speech but, Sir, brilliance is not always sense. I shall take a statement from his own speech to prove the point of view which I am championing. Dr. Mookherjee said that he could not tolerate a state of things in Bengal under which an irremovable communal majority ruled the province. That, Sir, I believe, was the allegation against democracy as it is prevailing in Bengal to-day under the Government of India Act of 1935.

If so, Sir, may I point out that in Bengal there is no communal majority at all because even if the Muslim members who exist in this House as an appendage to the Congress Party, were included the total number of Muslims in this House would not come up to even half the strength of the whole House. If Dr. Syamaprasad finds his soul so restless chafing at even this state of things in Bengal then with what anxiety, with what truth could he accuse the Muslims of Bihar, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Madras, Bombay, and Orissa. They have complained that democracy, qualified or unqualified by a Communal Award will always condemn them to be the bond slaves of an even more irremovable Hindu majority. But, Sir, I know it is useless to admit to convince men like Dr. Mookerjee with logic. There are none so blind as those who will not see and none so deaf as those who will not hear but let there be no mistake about this that the Muslims of India in spite of the handful of traitors to act as the camp-followers of the Congress are determined that no constitution shall again be imposed upon them to which they have not given their full consent.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Is it relevant, Mr. Speaker, to use the word "traitor"?

Mr. Khwaja SHAHABUDDIN: Why should Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar think that it was directed towards him?

Mr. SPEAKER: If you can tell me the exact expression he used, I can give my ruling. What was the language, Mr. Wahab Khan?

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: I said that the Muslims of India in spite of the handful of traitors to act as the camp-followers of the Congress——

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: He means that the Muslims of India who follow the Congress creed are traitors.

Mr. SPEAKER: His language is that the Muslims of India barring some traitors.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No, no.

Mr. SPEAKER: The speech is a written one and I will look into it.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: I regret very much that this debate should be used as an occasion either for maligning the Congress or the Muslim League or for accentuating the communal differences between the two great communities of this Province.

I am perfectly certain nothing was further from the intention of the mover of the resolution, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister. The resolution is a simple one. It divides itself into three parts. Sir, I presume that as regards the first and second parts there is practically no difference of opinion. (RAI HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Question.) As regards the third part, by unanimous consent of those who are interested in the political progress of India, it is a natural corollary to the other two parts though by no means a condition precedent of the support which India should give to England in the present crisis. Sir, the whole of the civilized world to-day stands aghast at the cruel and ruthless method pursued by Germany. During the last fifteen months she has deprived Sar, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and lastly Poland, even after the Munich agreement, of their independence. Sir, is there any doubt that this rapacious and inordinate thirst for self-aggrandisement of Germany, is a menace to civilization, and is a challenge to humanity and that it is up to all self-respecting nations of the world to take up that challenge. I do not think the worst enemy of Great Britain would deny that she had been practically compelled to take up arms against Nazi Germany, against her own will; that Britain had been forced into this position. England may naturally expect the rest of the British Empire to stand by her in this great struggle. But it is for India to decide whether apart from approaching the question from the moral point of view she is going to lend her support to Great Britain in her own interest or not. Suppose England loses in this struggle. What is going to be our position? Sir, personally I shudder to visualize the situation. Is there any doubt that we shall have a long spell of slavery, exploitation and subjection to indignities? I am almost certain that there is no difference of opinion on that point. (Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: There is a great deal of difference.) India is opposed to fascism and is wedded to democracy. Now, England has taken up arms against Germany in defence of democracy. No less a person, no less an Indian than Mahatma Gandhi himself has approved of the war aims of England. Sir, the immediate issue is whether India should give her support to England at present or whether there should first be a declaration by England promising further political progress to India on the basis of Dominion Status? That is the real point at issue. It has been suggested by several speakers, including the honourable Leader of the Opposition, that there can be no co-operation between a master and a bond-slave; that India can never feel enthusiastic in giving her co-operation to Britain unless India's political future is assured. I admit, Sir, that there is considerable force in that argument. But may I just remind my honourable friends that the foundation of India's liberty was laid not on the Indian soil, but on the battle-field of France between 1914 and 1918, when the Indian soldiers and the British soldiers spilt their blood together. Since then India has made considerable political progress and even the Congress came forward to work

the Constitution that was raised in on that foundation. Sir, the best method of achieving freedom is to fight for freedom. If my countrymen associate themselves with Great Britain and fight for democracy against fascism, is there any power on earth that can resist the political emancipation of India? If the Congress had followed Mahatma Gandhi's lead, I am sure India would have offered unconditional support to Great Britain in this crisis. But other counsels prevailed and unfortunately it was decided that the offer of co-operation must be conditional. I for one, Sir, regret it very much.

Sir, next arises the question how the constitution should be drafted, whether the interests of the minorities and the different interests should be safeguarded or not. Personally, I feel that political emancipation is a far cry unless the minorities can be satisfied. Political salvation with dissatisfied minorities is not a practical proposition, however, one may desire it. But whether the minorities should be allowed to impede permanently the political progress and freedom of the country, that is the question at issue. Sir, the word "minority" has nowhere been defined in the Government of India Act and we, the Bengali Hindus, are a minority community. The fact that the Bengali Hindus do not feel their interest sufficiently safeguarded and secure under the present constitution is an adequate justification for the suggestion that the constitution that is to be introduced after the war should be with the concurrence and consent of the minorities. I think it that principle is accepted, at least the Bengali Hindus will have everything to gain and nothing to lose.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: What about recognized minorities?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: We are recognized minorities in the Province.

I think that the Bengali Hindus refuse to be used as pawn in the political chess board of India. So, if that is our real feeling, I for one am prepared to accept the resolution as it stands. I find no difficulty in accepting the wording of the resolution, but I shall conclude with one observation that this is hardly the opportune moment to discuss and to fight over the language of a resolution of this nature, or to try to decide once for all how the future constitution is going to be framed. I am perfectly certain that whatever resolution we may adopt here to-day, that is not going to be the final word on the machinery for framing the constitution, but I want to make it clear that it is never my intention and it is far from the intention of my community to allow the minorities right to impede permanently the political progress of the country. There must be "give and take", there must be understanding between the majorities and the minorities, the minorities must have

confidence in the majority. That confidence is not a matter of logic, it is not a matter of argument, but it will have to be created by action. It is up to the majority community to create that confidence in themselves, and I am perfectly certain that the Hindu community as the majority community in India as a whole will not fail to discharge their obligations as a majority community in that respect. Sir, it is not the time when we should fight over this particular point. The real point at issue is whether we should offer our unconditional co-operation to Britain or whether we should offer conditional co-operation. I have no hesitation in saying that the offer should be unconditional, because if England wins in this war we survive, and if England loses in this war we go down. So our fate is indissolubly linked with that of Great Britain. This point should always be borne in mind. With these few words I whole-heartedly associate myself with the resolution as it stands.

Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, Bengal has been called upon to express herself on the devastating war that has been raging in Europe for some months past, has already materially altered her political map and is now threatening to reshape and remould the destinies of the whole human race. Although a slave, Bengal should not, I think, speak with her tongue in her cheek on a matter of such vital importance, but should come out boldly, without any mental reservation, dissociating herself entirely from this imperialistic war. Sir, I shall go direct to the resolution, as I take it that the time-limit will not allow me to speak on many matters on which I had a mind to speak. It appears to me, Sir, that the resolution is a big fraud on Bengal, an unparalleled self-deception ever practised by any nation upon itself. Sir, Britain declared war upon Germany, and India, a dependency automatically became a belligerent at war with Germany. No question of consulting her people or taking her consent, could possibly or did actually arise for the simple reason that a slave can possibly have no will or choice of her own. There does not, thus, appear to be any justification whatsoever for this resolution save and except the usual natural excessive desire of a slave to please his master, and co-operation, Sir, in these circumstances, becomes nothing but self-deception. Sir, the resolution expresses abhorrence for the totalitarian Governments and dictator-ridden states for ruthless methods adopted by them against smaller and weaker nations. But the resolution appears to be mad in love for Imperialism of a small island about 94,284 square miles in area and with a population of 46 millions only that has already robbed the independence of and held in subjugation and in some cases, in abject slavery, nations, both big and small, over the largest part of the earth, to their indescribable misery and suffering and is not even now prepared to restore freedom and cease exploitation. Britain may very well be proud of her achievements, but

certainly an Indian should hide his face in shame, far from talking glibly of co-operating with Britain in the defence of weaker and smaller nations. Sir, the ugliest part of this self-deception is embodied in paragraph 3 of the resolution. Despite non-compliance with the demand for clarification of certain points of Muslim interests, not to speak of the Congress demand, this resolution assumes, I think without believing, in the face of bitter past experience, specially of the Muslims all over the world, a favourable declared policy, and their petitions to the British Government for Dominion Status for India. If I remember aright, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, in a fit of emotion, asserted in his speech that freedom could not be had by petition, but must be fought out. No doubt, Sir, freedom has got to be fought out and not begged for. But one feels inclined, Sir, to ask, is there any slightest indication in the resolution, of the assertion even of a free-will, far less of any fighting attitude? Public memory though proverbially short, has not yet forgotten that the Hon'ble the Chief Minister committed himself to unconditional support to Great Britain without waiting for the decision of his supporters in this Legislature, or even of the organisation by whose name he swore in his speech and to which, quite forgetful of the election days, he now professes allegiance. Would it not have been a little more decent to wait till the demand for clarification of the points made by the Muslim League, at least, shall have been fulfilled?

Sir, the less we talk about the constitution to be vouchsafed to us by our masters, the more dignified for us.

A constitution framed by a foreigner can be acceptable to none but a slave nation. And it appears rediculous to me to talk in this House, in any detail, about India's constitution to be formulated by Britain. But I think I should make myself absolutely clear on one point. I am not a believer in slogans like "Hinduism in danger", or "Islam in danger". To a believer Hinduism or Islam represents eternal principles and truth which can never be endangered, and the cry in the name of religion for purposes other than religions is shocking to him as an outrageous prostitution of religion. I do not believe, Sir, that there is any real substantial conflict of interests between Hindus and Muslims as such. There is no conflict between the two of a religious or communal nature. The real conflict is a conflict of economic interests of the masses both Hindus and Muslims against the vested interests, and the religious sentiments of the masses are being exploited by our masters through their henchmen in their own interests. I do emphatically repudiate the suggestion, Sir, that the communal problem is a fundamental one existing independently of British Imperialism, and the further suggestion that the advent and presence of the Britishers in India is due, in any way, to the alleged communal differences between the Hindus and Muslims. Communalism in the masses, Sir,

is a fiction and a fabrication. It never existed, and it does not exist even to-day. Treachery of a few both Hindus and Muslims and not communal differences brought in the Britishers in India, and treachery of a few is again trying to keep them on. But India is determined to free herself, we will see her free. I will not die, Sir, without seeing her free, unless of course I die a glorious death, in the struggle for the attainment of that freedom. India will be free, Sir, at no distant date and that in spite of the traitors, free in the truest sense of the term—free in the exercise of her religious, in maintaining her cultures and in the exercise of equal rights for all her children, in spite of Jinnahs, Fazlul Huqs, Sikanders, Nazimuddins and Suhrawardys and in spite of Moonjes and Savarkars and Company. Sir, there is no communalism in the masses, Hindus or Muslims, but it is being constantly and persistently preached and sermoned by a few interested top-dogs of both the communities. The seed was sown in the Lucknow Pact when communal electorate was agreed upon, it grew into the cursed tree of the Communal Award which is now bearing its fruit. Congress and the Bengal Hindus appear to have been half-conscious of the Himalayan blunder and Mr. Jinnah has not yet realized that the segregation of the Muslim minorities due to communal electorates has proved a curse for them.

Sir, we have been asked by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to face facts as they are and not as they are wished to be. Sir, I will ask him for a moment to put off his new glasses that he has now put on and to look at things as he saw them during the critical period of his election at Patuakhali. He will then see, Sir, that there is absolutely no difference between the Hindus and the Muslims, but the difference is a difference of vested interests against the interests of the masses. Unity, Sir, there is already between the Hindus and the Muslims, and the so-called communal friction exists only in a thin layer at the top of the society, in Hindus as well as Muslims, who are the henchmen of British Imperialism, and who are exploiters of Hindus and Muslims alike. Sir, I ask the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to remember his sayings and doings during the days of his election and facts will appear in their proper perspective, and I am sure, if he had continued after the assumption of his office as the Chief Minister, in the spirit which pervaded his election campaign the so-called communal differences in India would have become by this time practically if not wholly non-existent. What facts are more glaring, Sir, than the abject slavery of India and the crushing perennial poverty of her people?

Sir, I am not prepared to recognize any interests other than the interests of men as such, irrespective of his religious persuasion which will undoubtedly be respected, as an elementary right of every citizen. The division of the people, Sir, into minorities and majority on the basis of the existing social order and interests is a contrivance designed

to perpetuate the present undesirable state of things, and must be immediately done away with if a new and happier world order is to be evolved—a world order wherein, as taught by Islam, all distinction between man and man will vanish, all exploitation will cease, and the equal rights of every citizen as such will be recognized and respected.

The Hon'ble the Chief Minister in explaining the expression "recognized minorities" enumerated by way of illustration, Scheduled Castes, Sikhs and Indian Christians. This admission, Sir, I am afraid, takes away the entire force from his argument that the Hindus form the overwhelming majority of the Indian population. Hindus minus the Scheduled Castes will, I am afraid, not form a majority, far less a crushing majority as against the rest of the Indian population.

The Chief Minister has however very conveniently avoided reference to the inconvenient word "interests", which, in my submission, means nothing but vested interests, and I content myself, due to the shortness of the time at my disposal, by simply inviting the attention of my Proja friends opposite, to the ominous expression of "interests" in this resolution and of "expropriation" in the Muslim League creed without making any comment thereon.

Sir, the slavery of India has been a curse not only to the Hindus, nay not to India alone, but to humanity at large and to the Muslim countries all over the world in particular. It is a matter of history, Sir, on which volumes can be said and written how the unlimited resources of India in men, money and provision have been exploited and utilized by Britain for her Imperialistic purposes causing immeasurable miseries to millions of people all over the earth. Sir, in passing, by way of illustration, I will refer only to one aspect of Indian administration, namely, the Indian army. Knowing as we all do, Sir, what the Indian army means to and for India and Indians, and without making any reference whatsoever to the very reprehensible and humiliating policy hitherto followed by Great Britain——

(Here the member reached his time-limit.) May I have just a few minutes more, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope it will be really "few".

Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI: Sir, the subject is so vast that it is very difficult to deal with it in such a short time.

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope you will be really brief.

Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI: Knowing as we all do, what Indian Army means to and for India and the Indians, and without making any reference whatsoever to the very reprehensible and humiliating policy

hitherto followed by Britain—a policy specially insulting to Bengal—I beg to remind the House of a few of the places and purposes for which the Indian Army has been used. The Indian Army has been utilised and used, amongst others, in the four Afghan wars, in the Frontier expeditions against the Afridis, for the last 50 years and in the two years against Burma resulting finally in her annexation, in the expeditions against Manipur, and Nepal, in the Crimean War against Russia, in the expeditions against Egypt and Khartum resulting in the conquest of Sudan, in other African wars including Zulu expedition and the Boer war, in the garrisoning and conquest of Aden, in the Boxer rebellion in China, in the garrisoning of Shanghai and Hongkong, in the war against Siam resulting in the conquest of the Malaya Peninsula and garrisoning of Singapore and during the last Great War in Flanders, in Egypt, in Gallipoli, and in Mesopotamia against Turkey leading to the dismemberment and partition of the Ottoman Empire and subjugation of the sacred places of Islam; in the last Afghan war and the Chinese Civil war of 1926—a list, Sir, neither complete nor final but certainly sufficiently illustrative of Britain's love for Hindus and Muslims alike both in and outside India. Sir India's agonising consciousness of her shameful subjugation and fleecing exploitation by British Imperialism entailing terrible permanent miseries not only to millions and millions of her own children but also of her neighbours and others has found unmistakable expression in all her activities, through sufferings and sacrifices and it is significant to note that today there is not a single political organisation in the country that does not put forward as its aim attainment of freedom for India. Even the agents and creatures of British Imperialism in India, Sir, have been compelled to proclaim to the world complete independence as their goal though in actual practice they place hindrances in the way of the attainment of that goal in the name of religion, community or communism. It is a pity, Sir, a thousand pities, that the sacred name of Islam and the Muslims of India have been unnecessarily and wilfully dragged in and invoked by interested parties for supporting India's slavery. Islam stands for peace, peace of the world, on the establishment of unity of mankind on the footing of equality, fraternity and liberty. Islam stands for freedom, absolute freedom in thought, word and deed. Islam stands for democracy—democracy of all peoples on earth without any territorial or temporal limitation and irrespective of any distinction of caste, creed, colour——

(Here the member reached his time-limit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI: I appeal to you for three minutes more.

Mr. SPEAKER: If the leaders like you become unreasonable, it is very difficult for me to resist. To-day is the last day of the three-day debate, and there are so many members still wanting to speak that if I am to extend your time, it would not be fair. I have already allowed you 19 minutes instead of the usual 15 minutes.

I am very sorry. I must ask you to finish it.

Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI: Will you kindly allow me 5 minutes more?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, I can't do that.

Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI: I sit down under protest and with this remark that Government have gagged us outside this House and you have gagged us inside this House.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry that I may have to request the House with the Deputy Speaker in the Chair to consider what action should be taken against Mr. Nausher Ali for the reflection made on the Speaker.

Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI: With all respect to the Chair I beg to submit that I know not that you may punish me and that I am prepared to bear any punishment that this House or you may be pleased to inflict on me, but I beg at the same time to tell you and this House that I am not prepared to withdraw the remark which has been made by me, simply because it represents an absolutely true and correct state of facts.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will take such action as I consider necessary later. This much I may say that Mr. Nausher Ali wanted to speak on Thursday last and he was told that he would be the first speaker to-day. When I called him he was absent, I could not find him, and as such I had to call other speakers. The time that I would have given to him was taken by other members. However, I do not want to-day at this stage to deal with this matter, but I will certainly desire the House to take such action as it thinks fit immediately after this debate is over.

The Hon'ble Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER: I may say at the outset that so far as the first two paragraphs of the resolution are concerned, they have my full support. They are no doubt the offending portion from the point of view of the Opposition. The Opposition has taken its stand on denial of co-operation so long as the declaration it has asked for is not forthcoming. I do not criticise this attitude, nor

is such criticism necessary for my present purpose. In view of past experiences and other considerations, the Congress is perhaps not without justification in taking up its present attitude. It would no doubt have been a matter of great satisfaction if the Congress could have been accommodated and the enthusiastic support of all sections of Indian opinion thus secured. That would have given immense moral strength to the cause of the Allies and would have been well in keeping with the purpose for which Britain is making such large sacrifices. So far as my personal views are concerned, it appears to me that there are certain very weighty consideration which should be taken into account and which seem to provide a justification for supporting Great Britain even in the absence of such a declaration as the Congress has demanded. The resolution which the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq has moved on behalf of the Government makes Great Britain's stand for the integrity and right of self-determination of the weaker nations the reason for offering her our support and co-operation. From this point of view, those who are in favour of supporting Great Britain may find in this resolution a very strong argument for support irrespective of any declaration.

While the demand for a declaration as a condition precedent to the extension of support is therefore a question on which there can, I believe, be some difference of opinion, I feel there should be no equivocation about our attitude towards the clash of political ideologies involved in the present struggle. It is one thing to attach importance to the experiences of the past and to insist on a declaration, but quite another to argue on that basis that there is no difference between Imperialism and Nazism and that to try to choose between them is to be between the Devil and the deep sea. There can be no valid reason for suffering Nazism because we dislike Imperialism. There is a wise adage—"Resist the beginnings of evil", and since Nazism is considered by every one to be reprehensible, no matter whether more or less reprehensible than Imperialism, it ought to be resisted early and resisted well. Moreover, Imperialism is undoubtedly on the wane, the England of to-day is far less imperialistic than even the England of ten years ago. A system which is learning to correct itself and is trying to purge itself of its evil can certainly not be as bad as a Nazi regime whose menacing possibilities with all their implications revealed even within so short a period, fill one with dismay. However, it is not on such theoretical grounds alone that this question should be discussed. Though the Leader of the Opposition has tried to tar the German and the British with the same brush, nearly every leader of standing including, it goes without saying, Mahatma Gandhi, has openly declared that our sympathies must be on the side of Britain in this war. In the very first statement Mahatmaji made after the outbreak of the war he said: "My own sympathies were with England and France from the purely

humanitarian standpoint. I am not, therefore, just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall."

This was also Pandit Jawaharlal's reaction. In his first statement on the war he observed: "It is perfectly true that in a conflict between democracy and freedom on the one side and fascism and aggression on the other our sympathies must inevitably lie on the side of democracy."

I would end these quotations by referring to one more statement signed among others by no less a person than Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore in which occur these words—

> "The duty of India is clear. Her sympathies are with Poland. She must stand by Britain and resist the disastrous policy of domination by force. No Indian would desire even in his own country's interest that England should lose the battle for freedom she is fighting to-day. In that contingency the realisation of Indian independence will be retarded. India will then start a new chapter of slavery under fresh alien domination."

If our sympathies are on the side of Great Britain, if we are earnest in our professions of love for the nations which under the heel of Nazism have lost their freedom and if we had also in the past accused England for sacrificing Czechoslovakia at the Munich Settlement, then it is difficult to withhold support now. India must also align herself on the side of civilisation and democracy. India's identification with those principles, even if she may have been denied justice at the hands of Great Britain, is bound to create a good moral effect throughout the world and rouse the moral conscience of mankind in support of India's own cause. Such a course is also in keeping with the traditions of India's ancient civilisation.

There is another important factor to be considered in judging our policy in regard to the war. The war has dangerous potentialities of extending to wider parts of the globe and the contingency of India coming into the war-zone in future should not be too lightly dismissed. The war thus raises dangers not only to civilisation, democracy, liberty and all the principles which India, no less than the countries actually fighting for those principles, holds dear, but contains also the seeds of dangers, yet unnoticed, to the integrity of her own soil. In such an eventuality we shall have to depend materially on the British for our safety. One might well blame the Britisher for having rendered us unfit to defend our country. But to the invader this dispute has no importance. A little reflection on this aspect of the problem will be found to explain and strengthen the position I have taken up. And, after all, does the future of this country and of Indo-British relations

depend so much on a declaration by British politicians at this moment, that we must set it on the scale against the immense risks of German victory and the domination of the world by dictatorships which our aloofness in this war might help to bring about? Even if England's defeat brings us independence, in a chaotic world overrun by greedy and rapacious nations such independence must naturally be short-lived in our present circumstances and helpless position. Even though England may be avoiding a definite declaration about India at present, the strong feeling now growing up in the world against forcible domination of any country or nation together with the pressure that we shall be in a position to exert on her will make it difficult for Great Britain to resist our demand. Moreover, when thinking of Great Britain or her intentions about India it would not be correct to consider only diehard sections of British politicians and the terms and phrases they use: there is also a large and growing volume of opinion in Great Britain in favour of conceding the desired political status to India without delay.

I now pass on to the third part of the resolution which is admittedly the most important and fundamental and consists of three strands, viz., (*i*) our political objective, (*ii*) the time of its realisation and (*iii*) the ways and means of its attainment.

The opinion has been expressed in certain quarters that we should not press our political demands at such a time, for it amounts to bargaining at an hour of Britain's national difficulty. This, I feel, is based upon a misunderstanding of the situation There is no bargaining behind the demand that India is making. Indian opinion has unequivocally condemned Nazi aggression, and for reasons I have mentioned above, I feel that we should take our side by Great Britain. Since, however, the war itself has political motives, there is no reason why we should not press for our political demands. Moreover, India is not placing any fresh or onerous demands upon Great Britain in her present difficulty. The demand of India for Domination Status has been framed years ago, and no question of bargaining is involved in reiterating it at a time when the democracies are fighting for an ideal, whose realisation is also India's objective, and in whose attainment by India, Great Britain should assure active assistance.

Our political objective has been defined in the resolution as the attainment of Dominion Status as interpreted by the Statute of Westminster. I believe there is no difference of opinion in India on this point. Even the Congress, I think, agrees that this is an objective which satisfied its present ambition. For, Dominion Status as interpreted by the Statute of Westminster means the substance of independence within the Empire. Further, as I explained in my statement in the Upper House the other day, there are definite advantages in remaining within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Both prudence and

idealism make this suitable for India at the present moment. If we attain Dominion Status, we shall have, I believe, as ample a right, as we would have under complete independence, "to feel", to quote the prose-poetry of my honourable friend, the Opposition Leader, "the Indian Sun, to smell Indian flowers, to think our own thought, to sing our own song, and to love our own kind". Even in the country of Roger Casement, whose sentiments the Opposition Leader has voiced, Dominion Status seems to have satisfied the political aspirations of the people. That Dominion Status is India's ultimate political goal, has also been admitted by the British Government. The admission is very grudging; instead of a clear and straightforward declaration, the point has been brought out by circumlocutory references to the Preamble of the Act of 1919, to the declaration of Lord Irwin in 1929, the provisions of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, and to Sir Samuel Hoare's statement on the occasion of the second reading of the India Bill. Nevertheeless, the sum total of all these is that Dominion Status is the goal to which the British Parliament is committed. The point of dispute with the British Government is not about the goal, but about the procedure and time of its attainment.

The second point in this part of the resolution refers to the time of the realisation of the objective we all have in view. Here also unanimity obtains and something tangible has been achieved in the resolution. The attainment of the Status of a Dominion is to take place immediately after the termination of the war. There is now no quetsion that freedom for India is no longer a goal receding further as we proceed towards it, but a practical measure to be brought into force immediately on the conclusion of the war. On this point, too, even the Congress does not press for the constitutional change to be effected during the course of the war. All that the Congress wants is an immediate declaration that the change would take place just after the war.

One consequence of the attainment of a status equal to that of the Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations would be a final settlement of the relationship between Great Britain and India. Our legal and juridical rights to determine questions within the sphere of our sovereignty could not be disputed. India would thenceforth have full liberty of framing her own policy and deciding her own destiny, and will not be trammelled by considerations of safeguards for British interests imposed from outside. But let us be clear at the same time that the absence of safeguards, while it increases our freedom, also increases our obligation to provide the fullest protection to all the legitimate British interests in this country. Neither the liberty to sever the Imperial ties which Dominion Status gives, nor the freedom to affect British interests, which the absence of safeguards affords, can be a reason for an unthinking, inequitable exercise of those rights. I

have no doubt in my mind that this freedom will be valued as such. The relations between Great Britain and India will then be raised to a plane in which the highest considerations of common good-will alone prevail. Indo-British relations have for long years been marred by considerable bitterness. Let us hope, Sir, that with the working of Dominion Status we shall have left that stage behind. I am sure we shall have ample reason to value the British connection. I hope, Sir, we have sufficient sense of self-esteem to acknowledge freely the virtues of others. I have always held the view, that if there is one race which we could associate with closely for our good as much as for the good of the world, it is the British race. But,—I hope that in such a context the "but" has no risk of misunderstanding—our relations must be free and spontaneous, on a footing of equality.

Next comes the knotty question of the procedure to be adopted in the framing of the constitution and bringing it into effect. And it is precisely this question on which I could not agree with the views of my colleagues in all respects. If it were a question only of adequately safeguarding the rights of minorities to their satisfaction, I would have whole-heartedly supported the demand. Honourable members from all parts of this House have also spoken in favour of providing adequate safeguards to the satisfaction of the minorities. When, however, it becomes a question of investing a minority with the power to veto all proposals for political advancement, the situation obviously becomes untenable, and one which I could not acquiesce in. The resolution requires the new constitution to be "based upon the full consent and approval" of the minorities. This, I think, is an impossible proposition. In my province, for example, I belong to a minority community. I cannot but have the greatest support and sympathy for the cause of the minorities. I would strongly fight for the protection of all legitimate rights and interests of the minorities and for embodying them in the constitution. No majority should object to such protection of fundamental minority interests. But I do not and should not claim that if a particular point is not decided in my favour, the political progress of the country should be held up. This is fundamentally opposed to the principle of democracy; and I for one would lend no support to it, whether I regard myself as a member of the minority community in my province or as a member of the majority community in the country as a whole. How would the majority community in Bengal like the Communal Award to be annulled simply on the ground that the minority community does not like it? This is clearly an impossible situation. That minorities have rights and interests which should be adequately safeguarded, nobody denies. But their claim to freedom in matters which are generally recognised in the nature of fundamental rights, cannot develop into the power of veto on all proposals of political advancement, if, for whatever reason, they feel unable to accept them.

As the resolution now stands, it demands that the constitution should be based on the consent and approval of the minorities only. There does not appear to be any necessity of even consulting the majority community or communities. The resolution has been so worded as to imply that it is Great Britain who is to implement their promise of Dominion Status and it is the minorities who are to consent and approve. In the resolution, all emphasis has been placed on the minorities and the majority community is altogether ignored, which involves a complete negation of the democratic principle. Even if we do not interpret the resolution literally and assume that it is not intended to keep the majority completely out of the picture, the resolution certainly demands the consent and approval of all communities, particularly the minorities, on all questions as a condition precedent to political advancement. To ask for the fulfilment of such a condition would be asking for the moon. It is not possible to agree to such a condition. As I have said, all safeguards should be provided for the protection of minority rights but the minorities should not be invested with power to hold up all political progress.

I am not oblivious of the fact that an agreement among the various communities, at least the major communities, is particularly desirable not only for the attainment of Dominion Status but also for the smooth functioning of the constitution that will follow. I, therefore, feel that every possible efforts should be made by all concerned for such agreement, but at the same time I can in no way persuade myself to accept a position in which even a single minority community, however small it might be, can turn down, should it be so disposed, any scheme or proposal for the political advancement of 400 millions of people.

As to the nature of machinery that would be appropriate for the framing of such a constitution, I have already indicated this in my observations elsewhere and I need not repeat them before this House. What I want to emphasise once again is that no effort should be spared to amicably settle the differences between the two major communities; but should an amicable settlement prove impossible, it is the largest common measure of agreement, with sufficient protection for minority rights, that should determine the character of our future constitution. There is unfortunately no other alternative except either to acquiesce in the holding up of all political advancement, or to pay such a price to satisfy the condition laid down in the resolution as may strike at the very roots of democracy. These are alternatives to which, in view of my political convictions and the traditions in which I have been nurtured, I cannot conscientiously reconcile myself.

I think, Sir, that I have said enough to make clear my position in relation to my colleagues, to the principles which I have long professed and to my political convictions. I have given my close and anxious consideration to my responsibilities in relation to my colleagues as much

to the far-reaching issues involved in the resolution. I have, I flatter myself, kept in mind the larger interests of the nation as a whole. And I pray, Sir, we shall all be given enough light and wisdom to work for an end which will enable India to occupy her rightful place among the comity of nations.

(Loud cheers from the Congress Benches, cries of "shame", "shame", from the Coalition Benches.)

(The House was then adjourned for 15 minutes.)

After adjournment.

Babu NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTY: মাননীয় সভাপতি মহাশয়, আমি আমার নেতা শ্রদ্ধেয় শ্রীযুক্ত শরৎচন্দ্র বসু মহাশয় যে সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব এনেছেন তা' সম্পূর্ণ সমর্থন করি।

মাননীয় প্রধান সচিব মৌলবী ফজলুল হক যে প্রস্তাব এই পরিষদে উপস্থিত কোরেছেন তার তিনটি অংশ আছে। প্রথম অংশে তিনি যুদ্ধের উদ্দেশ্য বিবৃত কোরতে চেষ্টা কোরেছেন; দ্বিতীয় অংশে আমাদের কর্ত্তব্য নির্দ্ধারণ এবং তৃতীয় অংশে আমাদের সেই কর্ত্তব্য সম্পাদনের পর আমরা কি পুরস্কার পাব তার ইঙ্গিত কোরেছেন ও সিদ্ধান্ত দিয়েছেন। যুদ্ধের লক্ষ্য সম্বন্ধে আমাদের নেতা যা বোলেছেন; আমি মনে করি, তা যথেষ্ট এবং সঙ্গে সঙ্গে একথাও তাঁর বক্তৃতাতে পর্য্যাপ্তরূপে প্রমাণিত হোয়েছে যে যুদ্ধের উদ্দেশ্য বোলে যে মিথ্যা এবং অপ্রকৃত প্রচার আজ সমস্ত পৃথিবীর বুকের উপর এক কুহেলিকার সৃষ্টি কোরেছে তা সত্যসত্যই ইংলণ্ডের উদ্দেশ্য নয়। ইংলণ্ডের উদ্দেশ্য যা ছিলো প্রথমে এবং আজ এখন যা নাকি হবার সম্ভাবনা রয়েছে—তাতে আদৌ পার্থক্য নেই এবং তার একটা মাত্রই লক্ষ্য ও অর্থ আছে: যে কোনো উপায়ে ইংরেজের আত্মরক্ষার ব্যবস্থা করা। গত দিনের বক্তৃতায় শ্রীযুক্ত শ্যামাপ্রসাদ মুখোপাধ্যায় মহাশয় বোলেছেন যে, এর পূর্ব্বে ইংলণ্ডের প্রধান মন্ত্রী এবং অন্যান্য রাজকর্ম্মচারীরা এই যুদ্ধ সম্পর্কে যে নীতির ব্যবস্থা কোরেছেন, এবং বর্ত্তমান সময়ে যে সব কথা যুদ্ধ-নীতি সম্পর্কে ঘোষণা কোরছেন, তার মধ্যে আকাশ পাতাল প্রভেদ রোয়েছে। প্রথমে বিশ্বের গণতন্ত্র, বিশ্বের ছোট ছোট জাতির প্রতি মহত্ব বোধ এবং প্রত্যেক দেশের নিরাপত্তা রক্ষার ব্যবস্থার কথা শোনা গিয়েছিলো। তারপর ব্রিটিশ সাম্রাজ্যের অন্যান্য অংশে বিশেষকোরে ভারতবাসীর মনে আশা-আকাঙ্খা যখন জাগতে লাগলো, সেই মুহূর্ত্তে ব্রিটিশ গভর্ণমেন্টের প্রধান মন্ত্রী এবং অন্যান্য রাজ কর্ম্মচারীরা যে বিবৃতি দান কোরতে শুরু কোরলেন তার মধ্যে যথেষ্ট পার্থক্য দেখা যেতে লাগলো। ইংলণ্ডের প্রধান মন্ত্রী যুদ্ধে যোগদানের পরই বক্তৃতা প্রসঙ্গে বোলেছিলেন:

"We are seeking no material advantage for ourselves. We are not aiming at victory but looking beyond it for laying a foundation of a

better international system which will mean that war is not to be inevitably lot of each succeeding generation. We like all people of Europe, long for peace; but it must be a real and settled peace, not an uneasy truce interrupted by constant alarm and threats". কিন্তু আজ যে সব বিবৃতি, বক্তৃতা ও ব্যাখ্যা আমরা শুনতে ও দেখতে পাচ্ছি তার মধ্যে বিশ্ব-রাজনীতি ও বিশ্ববাসীর কোন সমস্যা নেই। আপনারা দেখবেন যে, এর মধ্যে বিশ্বের কথা নেই, এর মধ্যে ভারতবর্ষের কথা নেই, এর মধ্যে অন্যান্য জাতির কথা নেই, এর কোথাও বৃহৎ কোন পরিবর্ত্তনের কথা নেই, শুধু আছে—য়ুরোপের সম্বন্ধে যা কিছু কথা, এবং য়ুরোপের দিগন্তে যে আজ অন্ধকার ঘনিয়ে এসেছে এবং তার আকাশ যে প্রলয়মেঘে আচ্ছন্ন হয়েছে, সে সম্বন্ধে য়ুরোপের রাজন্যবৃন্দকে এবং সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের সতর্ক করিবার জন্য আবেদন। প্রথমে ও পরে যে ভাবে বা যে ভাষাতেই কেননা বলা হোক, একটু বিশ্লেষণের চোখে দেখলেই বোঝা যাবে—ও দুটোর পার্থক্য পরোক্ষ,—প্রত্যক্ষ নয়। যুদ্ধের প্রথমে উদ্দেশ্য সম্বন্ধে যে অস্পষ্টতা ছিল—আজ আর তা নেই। আজ ইংরেজের মুখ থেকে স্পষ্ট, নগ্ন ও বস্তু-তান্ত্রিক সত্যই বেরিয়ে পড়ছে। ইংরেজকে, ইংলণ্ডকে বাঁচতে হবে। এর চাইতে বড় কথা ও বড় চিন্তা প্রথমে ও ছিল না, আজো নেই। ইংলণ্ডের প্রধানমন্ত্রীকে প্রধানতঃ অনুসরণ করতে যেয়ে আমাদের প্রধানমন্ত্রী মিঃ ফজলুল হক বলেছেন :—

"Britain is fighting not even for the maintenance of their own interests but they are fighting in defence of those fundamental principles the maintenance of which was so vital to the civilisation of the world."

আমার মনে হয়—প্রধানমন্ত্রী ইচ্ছা কোরেই হোক আর অনিচ্ছাতেই হোক, যুদ্ধের ইতিহাসকে বিকৃত কোরে আমাদের সুমুখে উপস্থিত কোরেছেন। আর না হয় তো তিনি বর্ত্তমান যুদ্ধের সম্পূর্ণ ইতিহাস অবগত নন। বৃটিশ গভর্ণমেণ্ট আজ যুদ্ধে নেমেছে নিজের প্রাণের দায়ে, নিজেকে বাঁচাবার জন্য অর্থাৎ আত্মরক্ষার জন্য। এবং এর ভিতর আর কোন লক্ষ্য নেই, সাম্যনীতি, গণতন্ত্র এ সমস্ত কিছুই নেই। একথা আমরা, যারা ইতিহাসের সঙ্গে সামান্যভাবেও পরিচিত, তারাই জানে; এবং প্রধানমন্ত্রী জানলেও যে বলতে পারেন না,—বলবার মত সাহস তাঁর নেই, সে কথাও আমরা বুঝি। আজকে যে হিট্‌লার এতো বড়, তাকে এতো বড় কে কোরেছে? অসহায় সম্বলহীন একটা লোক হঠাৎ সমগ্র জার্ম্মাণ জাতির ভাগ্য-নিয়ন্তারূপে এবং আজ বিশ্বত্রাস হোয়ে দেখা দিলো কেমন কোরে? সভাপতি মশাই, আপনি জানেন যে, বিগত মহাসমরের সময় পৃথিবীর রাষ্ট্রীয়গণনে একটা ভয়ানক রকমের বিপর্য্যয় হোয়ে গেছে। অন্ততঃ ৩/৪টে দেশ, যাদের উপর সাম্রাজ্যবাদের অখণ্ড প্রতিষ্ঠা ছিলো তারা পুরাতন জীর্ণ রাষ্ট্রীয় ব্যবস্থাকে ভেঙে-চুরে একটা নূতন আদর্শের প্রেরণায়, রাষ্ট্র এবং সমাজকে নূতন কোরে গোড়ে তুলেছিলো। রাশিয়া তার জারতন্ত্র ভেঙে নবভাবে রূপান্তর গ্রহণ কোরেছিল; জার্ম্মাণীতে সমাজতন্ত্রবাদ প্রবল হোয়ে উঠলো। ইটালী, স্পেন, হাঙ্গেরী এবং অন্যান্য বহু ক্ষুদ্র ক্ষুদ্র রাষ্ট্র পুরণো ব্যবস্থা আমূল পরিবর্ত্তন ক'রে, নব নব ভাবে

নিজেদের রাষ্ট্রকে গ'ড়ে তুল্‌লো। এবং মহাযুদ্ধ অবসানের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে ইংরেজের শক্তি ও স্বার্থ যখন আরো বৃদ্ধিপ্রাপ্ত হোলো—তখন ইংরেজের মনে এক নূতন ভয় দেখা দিলো। সে বুঝ্‌লে যে, সে যুদ্ধে জিতেছে বটে, কিন্তু জার্ম্মানীতে ও ইউরোপের অধিকাংশ রাষ্ট্রে নব আদর্শের যে বীজ বপন হোলো, একদিন সে বৃহৎ রূপ ধারণ কোরে ইংরেজের সাম্রাজ্যবাদের সিংহাসনকে কাঁপিয়ে দেবে; তখন থেকে জার্ম্মাণীতে যে নূতন গণতন্ত্র গোড়ে উঠেছিলো সেটা ভেঙ্গে দেবার ষড়যন্ত্র কোরে আস্‌ছিলো কে? হিট্‌লারকে অর্থ দিয়ে সহায়তা দিয়ে জার্ম্মাণীর সেই গণতন্ত্রকে ভেঙ্গে দিয়েছে কে? হিট্‌লারকে রসদ যুগিয়েছে কে? হিট্‌লারকে এতদিন খোরে পালন করবার ভার নিয়েছিলো কারা? ইংলণ্ডের অর্থ আর সহায়তায় যেদিন জার্ম্মাণীর গণতন্ত্র নিষ্পেষিত হলো, সেই দিনই ইংলণ্ডের বুকে এই আশা প্রতিষ্ঠা লাভ করেছিল যে, হিট্‌লারকে বড় কোরে ইউরোপের বুকের ওপর তার প্রভুত্ব চিরদিনই অপ্রতিহত রাখ্‌বার পথ উন্মুক্ত করেছে। নূতন রুষিয়া হ'য়ে উঠ্‌লো তার সব চাইতে প্রবল প্রতিপক্ষ। একদিকে উদার সাম্যনীতি—অন্যদিকে বিশ্বগ্রাসী সাম্রাজ্যবাদ নীতি। ইংরেজ জান্‌তো, একদিন-না-একদিন তাকে রুষিয়ার মুখোমুখী হ'য়ে শক্তি পরীক্ষায় অবতীর্ণ হ'তেই হবে। তাই হিট্‌লারের দ্বারা ইংরেজ একদিকে রাষিয়ার ধ্বংস কামনা কোর্‌ছিল, অন্যদিকে মহাসমরের ফলে ফরাসী যে বিরাট শক্তির অধিকারী হয়ে উঠ্‌লো,—তাতে কোরে ফরাসীকেও সে সন্দেহের চোখে না দেখে পারে নি। সে সইতে পার্‌ছিল না যে, গৃহের কাছে ফরাসী এতো বড় হ'য়ে টিকে থাকে,—তাই ফরাসীকেও সে জব্দ কোর্‌তে চেয়েছিল এই হিট্‌লারের দ্বারাই। তখনো পর্য্যন্ত সে জান্‌তো না যে হিট্‌লার বড় হোয়ে তারি বিরুদ্ধে অস্ত্রধারণ কোর্‌বে। এইখা ইংলণ্ডে রাজনৈতিকদের মনে স্থানও পায় নাই যে ইংলণ্ডের সাহায্যে পুষ্ট হিট্‌লার নিজেকে সুপ্রতিষ্ঠিত ও শক্তিশালী কর্‌বার পর সর্ব্বপ্রথমেই তার বিরুদ্ধে দাঁড়াবে। ইংলণ্ডের মনে এই আশা ছিলো—নব জাগ্রত রাষিয়াকে এবং সঙ্গে সঙ্গে ফরাসীকেও একমাত্র হিট্‌লারের দ্বারাই সে শক্তিহীন কোরে রাখ্‌বে এবং এই খেয়ালে চলার ফলে আমরা দেখ্‌তে পাই—হিট্‌লার যখন যা কোরেছে—নির্ব্বিচারে ইংলণ্ড তা শুধু সহ্য কোরে গিয়েছে তা নয়, পরন্তু হিট্‌লারের সমস্ত কাজ ইংলণ্ড সমর্থন করেছে। এ আমার কথা নয়; ইংলণ্ড যেদিন মিউনিক-অত্যাচার সহ্য কোর্‌লো, সেদিন চেম্বারলেনের শ্রেষ্ঠতম বন্ধু লর্ড লণ্ডনডেরি বোলেছেন—"I was at a loss to understand why we could not make common ground in some form or other with Germany in opposition to communism." এরই ঠিক এক বৎসর পরের কথা। আজ চেম্বারলেন ও তাঁর বন্ধুদের গণতন্ত্রের জন্য প্রাণ কেঁদে উঠেছে। তাই আজ সমস্ত পৃথিবীকে তারস্বরে আহ্বান করা হোচ্ছে, ভারতবর্ষকে ডাকা হোয়েছে। সকলে মিলে "নাজিজম্‌" ধ্বংস কোরতে হবে। কিন্তু এক বছর পূর্ব্বে তাঁরা নিজেরাই বোলেছিলেন যে, নাজিজম্‌কে বড় কোরতে হবে কমিউনিজম্‌কে ধ্বংস করার জন্য। তখন হিট্‌লারের গণতন্ত্রের বিরুদ্ধে আক্রমণ তাঁদের চোখে পড়েনি, প্রাণকে ব্যথাতুর ক'রে তোলেনি। সেদিন

হিট্‌লার জগতের গায়ে সন্ত্রাসকরূপে নিন্দনীয় হয়নি। সেদিন চেম্বারলেনের প্রয়োজন ছিলো—সেদিন ইংলণ্ডের ধনিক সম্প্রদায়ের প্রয়োজন ছিলো—হিট্‌লারকে সমর্থন করবার, তাকে পুষ্ট করবার,—রাশিয়াকে চূর্ণ-বিচূর্ণ করবার' জন্যে, ফ্রান্সকে শায়েস্তা করবার জন্যে। সেই প্রয়োজনের খাতিরে হিট্‌লারকে তখন ভালো চোখে দেখা হয়েছিলো। তারপরে মিউনিকের ইতিহাস: একমাত্র রাশিয়া সেদিন চেকোস্লোভেকিয়ার পক্ষে দাঁড়িয়ে যুদ্ধ করিতে রাজি ছিল; সেদিন ফরাসী আর রাশিয়ার মধ্যে যে চুক্তি ছিলো, সেই চুক্তির দোহাই দিয়ে, মানবিকতা, ন্যায়, সাম্য, সব কিছুর নামেও ফ্রান্স ও তার বন্ধু ইংলণ্ডকে রাশিয়া হিট্‌লারের বিরুদ্ধে দাঁড় করাতে পারে নি। চেকোস্লোভেকিয়াকে হত্যা করবার পর four-power pact হলো ইংলণ্ড, ফ্রান্স, ইটালি, আর জার্ম্মাণীর মধ্যে (হিট্‌লার, মুসোলিনী, চেম্বারলেন আর দালাদিয়ের মিলে) বাদ দেওয়া হলো একা রাশিয়াকে,—একমাত্র যে নাকি চেয়েছিলো গণতন্ত্র রক্ষা করার জন্য অস্ত্রধারণ কোরতে, গণতন্ত্রের স্থায়িত্বের জন্য যুদ্ধ কোরতে। সেদিন গণতন্ত্রের প্রতি মমত্ববোধ কোথায় ছিলো? সেদিন গণতন্ত্ররক্ষার জন্য এ চিৎকার ওঠেনি কেন? ওঠেনি তার কারণ, সেদিন পর্য্যন্ত ইংলণ্ড এ আশা পরিত্যাগ করতে পারেনি যে হিট্‌লারকে দিয়েই রাশিয়ার ধ্বংসসাধন করতে হবে। যেদিন থেকে ইংলণ্ড বুঝ্‌তে পারল যে, তার আশা পূরণ হবার নয়, হিট্‌লার রাশিয়ার সঙ্গে যুদ্ধ কোরতে চায় না, সেই দিন থেকে সুর উল্টে গেল। সেদিন থেকেই প্রচারকার্য্যের ফলে হিট্‌লারের দানবীয় রূপ জগদ্বাসী জানতে পারল। রাশিয়া আর অস্পৃশ্য রইল না; তার কমিউনিজম্ হয়ে উঠ্‌ল ভদ্রনীতি; বলসেভিজিম্ শোনবামাত্রই ইংরেজের মূর্চ্ছা যাওয়া বন্ধ হলো। জঘন্য বন্য রাশিয়ার সঙ্গে মিতালীর প্রয়োজনীয়তা ইংলণ্ডের ধনিকদের কাছেও আর অনভিপ্রেত বলে ঠেক্‌লো না। দু'দিন আগেও দেখেছি—রাশিয়ার দূত বোলে, কমিউনিষ্টের এজেন্ট বোলে এই ভারতবর্ষে মিরাট conspiracy case সৃষ্টি করে কতিপয় ব্যক্তিকে বিনা দোষে লাঞ্ছিত করা হয়েছে, দু'দিন বাদে সেই রাশিয়াকে মিত্ররূপে পাবার উৎকট আগ্রহ দেখে সনাতন মহাজনবাক্য "আত্মানং সততং রক্ষেৎ" এর মর্ম্ম আমাদের নিকট যেভাবে প্রতিভাত হয়েছে, এমনটী আর কোন দিন হয় নি। চেম্বারলেনের দূত সেই রাশিয়ার বুট্ জুতোর তলায় পোড়ে কত অনুনয়, কত চেষ্টাই না কোরলে, কিন্তু "ভবি" ভোলবার নয়! রাশিয়া ইংলণ্ডের চেম্বারলেনদের বিশ্বাস করে না; সেও এদের চেনে। জানে। ভাল করেই জানে। তার সেই বিপ্লবের দিনের ইতিহাস সে আজো ভোলে নি। এই সব মার্কামারা সাম্রাজ্যবাদীরা কেমন ক'রে তার নব-বিপ্লব-প্রচেষ্টাকে ব্যর্থ করে দেবার জন্য বিপুল ষড়যন্ত্র করেছিল, সে কথা সে আজো ভোলে নি, ভুল্‌তে পারেও না! সুতরাং আজকের এ যুদ্ধ যে সাম্যবাদ বা গণতন্ত্রের স্বার্থরক্ষার জন্য নয়, জগতের ইতিহাস একথার সাক্ষ্য দেবে, ইংলণ্ডের অতীত ইতিহাস একথার সাক্ষ্য দেবে। একথার সাক্ষ্য দেবে চীনের অভিযান, বক্সার যুদ্ধ, আফ্রিকা, আমেরিকা, আয়র্লণ্ডের ইতিহাস, ইজিপ্ট, ভারতবর্ষ, প্যালেষ্টাইনের দুঃখ, বিপন্ন ও শোষিত রূপ। সেদিন smallar powerত্রয় প্রতি মমতাবোধ কোথায় ছিলো? একটার

পর একটা কোরে নিরস্ত্র জাতিদের ইংলণ্ড কি কোরে নির্পেষিত কোরেছে সে ইতিহাস আমরা জানি; কাজেই ছেঁদো কথায় আমরা আর ভুলতে চাইনে। আমার চাইতেও স্পষ্ট ক'রে চেম্বারলেনদের এই নগ্নরূপ একজন ইংরেজ প্রকাশ করেছেন :—

"After Munich when Russia was cold shouldered out of the conference room and the four western Powers pledged each other to life-long friendship, the diehards openly talked of the desirability of giving Germany a free hand in the east. Germany was to be a mobile bulwark against Bolshevism and we were to aid and abate." জার্মাণীকে বাস্তবিক এইরূপে যে free hand দেওয়া হোয়েছিলো এবং বলশেভিজমের বিরুদ্ধে জার্মাণীকে খুঁচিয়ে উত্তেজিত ক'রে তোলবার জন্য যতরকম ষড়যন্ত্র সম্ভবপর সবই যে করা হোয়েছিলো, একথা আমার নয়, একজন ইংরেজের কথা। সুতরাং আজকে যে সভ্যতার চিরউপাসক, এবং শান্তির পূজারীরূপে ইংরেজ জগতের কাছে পরিচয় দিচ্ছে, এই বিংশ শতাব্দীতে নূতন কোরে নিজেকে নীতিবাদী ও আদর্শবাদী বোলে প্রচার কোরছে, সাম্যবাদের কথা বোলে বেড়াচ্ছে এবং ডেমোক্রাসি রক্ষার কথা বার বার কোরে বোলছে, এ সমস্তের মূলে তার নিজের স্বার্থ রক্ষার কল্পনা ছাড়া যে আর কিছুই নেই একথা আমরা ভাল ক'রেই বুঝেছি। ক্ষুদ্র ক্ষুদ্র দুর্বল জাতির স্বার্থরক্ষার উদ্বেগের কথা বোলে আমাদের ভোলাতে চাইলেও ইংরেজের মধ্যেও এমন লোক আছে যারা ভুলতে চায় না। তাই হাউস অফ্ কমন্সে যুদ্ধ সম্পর্কীয় কথাপ্রসঙ্গে ভারতবর্ষের কথা উল্লেখ কোরে ওয়েজউডবেন বোলেছিলেন—"Fine words butter no parsnip." অর্থাৎ "শুধু কথায় চিঁড়ে ভেজে না।" তিনি স্পষ্ট ভাষায় বোলেছেন, "We have to decide where we stand and how far we are prepared to go and what we are willing to do to make a reality of the freedom of India." শুধু ছেঁদো কথা দিয়ে ভোলালেই চোলবে না। দুশো বছর ধোরে যে জাতির ভাগ্য নিয়ে ছিনিমিনি খেলেছো, পায়ের নীচে দাবিয়ে রেখে যে অসহায় জাতির ভূত, ভবিষ্যৎ, বর্তমান নিজেরই কর্তৃত্বাধীনে রেখে দিয়েছো, আজকে তুমি বিপদে পড়েছো আর বোলছো—"আমার বিপদের তুমি সুযোগ নিও না।" কিন্তু দুশো বছর ধ'রে হিন্দু-মুসলমানের অজ্ঞতার সুযোগ কি তুমি নাও নি? যেদিন বিশ্বাসঘাতক অপরিণামদর্শী হিন্দু আর মুসলমান তোমাকে পলাশীর প্রান্তরে ডেকে এনেছিলো সেদিন কি তুমি bargain করো নি? আজো কি তুমি হিন্দু-মুসলমান, স্পৃশ্য-অস্পৃশ্যতার পরিপূর্ণ সুযোগ নিয়ে ও সুযোগ সৃষ্টি ক'রে ভারতবাসীর সঙ্গে রাজনৈতিক চালবাজী খেলতে এতটুকুও দ্বিধা করছো? আজকে বিজয় প্রসাদ সিংহ মহাশয়কে unconditional support দেওয়ার জন্য বড় ব্যগ্র দেখছি। বিপদের সময় শত্রুকেও ক্ষমা করা উচিত, কারো বিপদের সুযোগ নেওয়া কর্তব্য নয় ইত্যাদি বড় বড় উচ্চাঙ্গের ও বৈষ্ণবীয় কথায় তাঁর বক্তৃতা ভরপুর। (A MEMBER FROM THE CONGRESS SIDE: কারণ পরিণামে যে তাঁর ভালো হবে—laughter and noise.....) বিজয় প্রসাদ সিংহ মহাশয়কে আজ জিজ্ঞাসা

কর্‌ছি যে, তাঁর সমস্ত পূর্ব্বপুরুষের ধারা থেকে আজ পর্য্যন্ত, স্বদেশের জন্য তাঁর বংশ কোন্ কিছু কোরেছে কি না। বর্ত্তমানে তাঁর রাষ্ট্রীয় জীবন কি তা' আমরা জানি। তিনি ইংরেজের বেতনভুক্ ভৃত্য ছাড়া আর কিছুই নন। সুতরাং "ইংরেজের সঙ্গে আজ bargain কোরো না"—এর বেশী আর তিনি কি বোল্‌বেন। যাক, ইংলণ্ড তো প্রতিজ্ঞাবদ্ধ ছিলো যে, পোল্যাণ্ডকে যে আক্রমণ কোর্‌বে তারি সঙ্গে সে লড়াই কোর্‌বে, কিন্তু রাষিয়া এসে যখন পোল্যাণ্ড অধিকার কোর্‌লে তখন আর কিছু করবার শক্তি হলো না। ফিন্‌ল্যাণ্ডও আজ রাষিয়ার উদরস্থ হতে চলেছে কিন্তু ক্ষুদ্র জাতির স্বার্থরক্ষার কথা আজ আর ইংরেজের মুখে শুন্‌তে পাওয়া যায় না। পোল্যাণ্ডকে আক্রমণ ক'রে জার্ম্মাণ যে দোষে দোষী, ফিন্‌ল্যাণ্ড আক্রমণ ক'রে রাষিয়াও সেই দোষে দোষী। রাষিয়ার বেলায় ইংরেজ আজ নীরব কেন? কারণ, সে বড় বিষম ঠাঁই (laughter) রাষিয়ান ভালুকের যে বড় থাবা,—সুবিধে হবে না। তীক্ষ্ণ দাঁতে আর নোখে ইংলণ্ডের ধনী আর ধনীদের পোষা চেম্বারলেনদের বড় বড় ভুঁড়ী ফেঁসে যাবে। ধাপ্পাবাজী এর চেয়ে আর কাকে বলে? তাই বোলছিলাম, দুশো বছরের পরাধীন জাতির কাছে আজ প্রেমের বুলি বোল্‌তে এসেছেন মৌলবী ফজলুল হক আর বিজয় প্রসাদ সিংহ। জাতীয় জীবনের ভাগ্য নিয়ে এমন ক'রে নির্ম্মম পরিহাস করবার সুযোগ এঁরা হারাতে পারেন না।

তারপর আজাকে—(Here the member reached his time-limit.)

Mr. SPEAKER : Your time is up.

Babu NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTI : সভাপতি মশাই, আর দু' মিনিট সময় চাই। আমার দুই একটা বিষয় আর বলবার আছে; সেটা হচ্ছে গভর্ণমেণ্টের প্রস্তাবের তৃতীয় অংশ সম্বন্ধে। সহযোগিতার কথা যারা বলে, তারা সব জেনে-শুনেই বলে। মৌলবী ফজলুল হক যখন একথা বলেন তাতে বিস্মিত হই না। বিপদই মানুষের জীবনের বড় বিপর্য্যয় নয়, মানুষের জীবনের সব চাইতে বড় বিপর্য্যয় বিপদের বোধশক্তি হারিয়ে ফেলা। মৌলবী ফজলুল হকেরও আজ সেই দশা হয়েছে। নিজের অজ্ঞাতেই তিনি আজ শুধু একাই অধঃপতনের পথে দ্রুত এগিয়ে যাচ্ছেন না, সমগ্র জাতিকে পর্য্যন্ত অধঃপতনের পথে পরিচালিত কর্‌ছেন। ফজলুল হক সাহেব জানেন যে, তিনি সহযোগিতা কোরছেন না, তিনি কোরছেন দাসত্ব। তিনি নিজে গোলাম, সুতরাং প্রভুর মনস্তুষ্টির জন্য যা তিনি কোরছেন সেটা কো-অপারেশন নয়। সহযোগিতা কার সঙ্গে সম্ভবপর হয়? সমানে সমানে। যেমন ফরাসীর সঙ্গে ইংরেজ সহযোগিতা কোর্‌ছে, রাষিয়ার সঙ্গে জার্ম্মেণী কোর্‌ছে। তোমার আবার সহযোগিতা! তোমার আবার বন্ধুত্ব!! দুনিয়ার তোমাকে মানুষ বলে কে? বামন হোয়ে চাঁদ ধরবার আকাঙ্ক্ষা! ইংরেজের বুটের কাছে এতবার যাদের ক্ষমতা নেই তাদের মুখে সহযোগিতার কথা শুনে দুনিয়ার লোক কৃপার চোখেই দেখ্‌বে। দাসত্বকে সহযোগিতা বোলে জাতিকে ভুল পথে পরিচালিত করবার এই যে মিঠে রতা—এর ফলকে চিরদিন তোমায় মস্তক অবনত কোরে রাখতে হবে। আজ

আর সময় নেই আমার বেশী কিছু বলবার। সভাপতি মহাশয় যদি আমায় অনুমতি দেন—যদি আমাদের ইচ্ছামত কাজ মাঝে মাঝে কোরতে দেন, তাহলে সাতদিনে, আমার মনে হয় মাত্র সাত-দিনের মধ্যে হিন্দু-মুসলমানের গোলমাল আমরা মিটিয়ে দিতে পারি। এই নখ-দন্ত-হীন বৃদ্ধগুলিকে রাজনীতির ক্ষেত্র থেকে তাড়িয়ে দিয়ে যেদিন হিন্দু-মুসলমানের যুবকেরা এগিয়ে আসবে, দৃষ্টিতে বৃহত্তর জাতীয় আদর্শ তাদের ফুটে উঠবে, দেশ ও মানবিকতার প্রতি অখণ্ড মমত্ববোধ সেদিন তাদের প্রাণের প্রেরণা যোগাবে; আর সেই দিনই এই অন্তঃসারশূন্য হিন্দু-মুসলমান সমস্যার মীমাংসা সম্ভবপর হবে।

যারা বলে Islamic culture অথবা Hindu culture তারা culture কাকে বলে জানে না। Islamic culture বা Hindu culture বোলে আলাদা আলাদা কিছু নেই যা আছে তা হোচ্ছে Indian culture, বাংলার culture, ভারতের culture. আর সে culture হিন্দু ও মুসলমান উভয় জাতির আদর্শ ও ভাবধারার সমন্বয়েই গোড়ে উঠেছে। হিন্দু-মুসলমানের গানে, গাথায়, তাদের কাব্য, সাহিত্য, ঐতিহ্য, তাদের শিল্প, কলা, ভাষা—তাদের পোষাক-পরিচ্ছদ, আচার-ব্যবহার, তাদের অবারিত আকাশ, শ্যামল-বনানী, হিম-শীর্ষ হিমাচল ও গঙ্গা-যমুনার সহস্র ধারা ভারতবর্ষের এই কালচারকে সৃষ্টি করেছে। ধর্ম এক হলেও কালচার এক হয় না। তুরস্কের ও আরবের কালচার এক নয়; পারস্য ও আফগানিস্থানের কালচার স্বতন্ত্র। ইসলামধর্ম পৃথক কালচার সৃষ্টি করে না—হিন্দুধর্মও তাই। একজন মুসলমান বন্ধু সেদিন ইসলামিক কালচারের স্বরূপ আলোচনাকালে বোলেছিলেন যে, monotheistic democracy ইসলামিক কালচারের শ্রেষ্ঠ বৈশিষ্ট্য। আমি তাঁকে ইতিহাসের নজীর উদ্ধৃত ক'রে দেখিয়েছিলাম যে, monotheistic democracy ইসলামধর্ম প্রবর্তনের পূর্ব্বেই বৌদ্ধদের মধ্যে দেখা যায়। সভাপতি মশাই, আজ তাই আমি বাঙালীকে ডাকতে চাই; আসুন, সবাই মিলে হিন্দু, মুসলমান, বৌদ্ধ, খৃষ্টান সকলের সমন্বয়ে যে বিরাট জাতীয়তা ভারতবর্ষে গড়ে উঠেছে, সেই জাতীয়তাকে সার্থক করবার জন্য, হিন্দু-মুসলমানের সমবেত চেষ্টায় গোড়ে ওঠা যে ভারতীয় culture সেই কালচারকে বজায় রাখবার জন্য আজ আমরা বদ্ধপরিকর হই। ভারতবর্ষের এই কালচার রক্ষার জন্য আমরা বেঁচে থাকবো,—এই কালচার রক্ষার জন্য প্রয়োজন হলে আমরা মরণকে বরণ ক'রে নেবো। ইসলামের বা হিন্দুর পৃথক পৃথক কালচার রক্ষার নামে যারা দেশের অগ্রগমনের পথে বাধার সৃষ্টি করে, স্বাধীনতার পথে অন্তরায় গড়ে তোলে,—আমরা চিরদিন তাদের মনে করব দেশের ও জাতির শত্রু। তারা যত বড়ই হোক, দেশ ও জাতি তাদের ক্ষমা কর্ত্তে কোন দিনই পারবো না।

Mr. W. A. M. WALKER: I should like to congratulate the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy on his speech this afternoon. What he said was utter truth that the fate of Britain and the fate of India are inextricably joined; if England fall India must inevitably fall too. The speech in which the Hon'ble the Chief Minister opened this debate will, I believe, stand on the record not only as a generous

expression of the spontaneous reaction of India to the stand taken by Britain and France against perpetual aggression, but also as a notable exposition for later reference of the immense complexities which attend the solution of the problem of full self-government for India, for which we are all working.

We also have our own difficulties in these matters. The House knows them and I believe respects them.

The notable speech delivered on Thursday by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee contained, we thought, many skilful fallacies. We sympathise with the desire he has expressed on behalf of the people of Bengal to have an active share in the defence of civilisation and their country in the war. Dr. Mookerjee minimises the financial considerations which in every country in the world take first place in matters of defence on account of the gigantic cost of modern armaments. It should be remembered that half the Indian budget is already taken by defence, and the paramount consideration in recruitment must be the utmost economy consistent with safety But we join with him in pressing the claim of the young men of Bengal for some outlet for their loyalty.

I would pay a tribute here to those of our own community, especially the younger men, whose first and natural desire is also to take an active part in the defence of their country in this war, who, at the behest of Government and the Military Authorities, are also quietly continuing with their everyday work and sticking to their desks when their impulse is to volunteer for service.

We in this Party have to choose between the resolutions moved and the views expressed on our Right and on our Left

I would say, therefore, on behalf of this Party that in the choice between the amendments in the name of the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition and the standpoint expressed by the Hon'ble the Leader of the House, this Party can have no doubts or hesitation Our support and our votes are, on this issue, on the side of Government, and I would express the whole-heartedness and unanimity with which we join in the assurance of full co-operation in the prosecution of the war which is embodied in this resolution. This in our belief represents the real and spontaneous reaction of the Peoples, the States, and the Provinces of India to the threat which now menaces our civilisation.

It is endorsed by many declarations by Indian spokesmen in the past condemning acts of aggression in the recent years, and calling on Britain to oppose them. It is endorsed by the whole public opinion of India waiting anxiously in the days before the war broke out in the hope openly expressed that Britain would finally put down aggression

against Poland. It is endorsed by the declaration of public men of every party at the outbreak of war itself. It is endorsed by the offers of help and services which have poured in from every quarter.

But the attitude adopted by the Congress Party now is not in unison, and I should like to state our view. It should be clearly understood that in what I say I speak not as a representative of a governing class, not as the spokesman of an official viewpoint.

It is too often thought that because we of the merchant community come from the same country as so many of those in Government and in authority that our views are theirs. That is not so. We express the private opinion of citizens belonging to a merchant community on the same independent footing as other groups in the House I would, therefore, have the Congress Party know how we as private citizens view their attitude.

The applause from opposition benches which greeted the speech of the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition on Wednesday showed that most at any rate among them fully endorse the words he used. His main theme was an endeavour to attribute a lack of sincerity, a propaganda of lies by Britain. I think, Sir, and believe that the opening words of Mr Wordsworth's speech wholly dispelled the impression he had sought to create.

It is to my mind always regrettable to belittle the sincerity of those with whom you are in discussion, and I believe, Sir, that that policy is always liable to fail and to belittle rather the attacker than the attacked.

I confess to my profound surprise when having bidden us beware of propaganda the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition expressed in no uncertain terms on behalf of his Party a preference in the last resort for totalitarianism as against imperialism, with reference to this present war and to the sentiments of India. That is to say in concrete terms that in the last resort he prefers German methods and Nazism to the existing ideals and aspirations of Britain towards India.

I would ask the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition to reflect. I would ask the honourable members on the Opposition benches to reflect, and I would ask the House to judge what would have been the answer to such a speech delivered under Nazi rule. I would ask the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition and his party after that reflection whether in truth they hold these views. I would ask the House, can there be any doubt about its judgment?

The attitude the All-India Congress has adopted, has, I believe, come as a profound disappointment to the peoples of India and has taken the savour from political life by stultifying the generous uprising

of co-operation and united effort which would otherwise have carried India forward in confidence and self-respect towards its full stature in the civilisation of the world.

I wish to comment on one feature which I believe may be the reason for this and do so in all earnestness. Because I believe that many thinking persons, particularly within the ranks of Congress, and almost universally outside those ranks, are becoming increasingly anxious at the totalitarian aspect which the All-India Congress now assumes. We feel and many besides ourselve both within the ranks of Congress and outside feel that the All-India Congress instead of developing as the vehicle of free expression of views representing the genuine public opinion of its followers is in danger of turning more and more into a political machine, vesting dictatorial powers in its political managers. In this connection I would quote a recent statement of Mahatma Gandhi in "Harijan":

> "The Congress has a double function. It is a democratic organization in peace time. It becomes a non-violent army in war time. In its second capacity it has no voting power. Its will is expressed by its general whoever he may be. Every unit has to tender him willing obedience in thought, word and deed. Yes, even in thought, since the fight is non-violent."

This tendency is one which in the interests of the Congress and still more in the interests of India must be fought by those who treasure freedom of thought and opinion.

The Congress Party of India is now perilously near to making those claims to authority, those claims to speak, not for a Party, but for the peoples as a whole, without brooking contradiction, which characterised the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany and similar engines of dictatorship in other lands.

The appalling danger of this trend is that it is based on claims which are false, which in the end must, therefore inevitably fail.

And there is a further less profound but nevertheless for the time being not negligible danger, that such a machine, with the control so highly centralised, may fall into hands which will set it travelling in the wrong direction without affording an opportunity for the real opinions of the Party to crystallise and determine the action which should be taken.

I say these words not by way of criticism or attack, but in the interests of the development of reasonable self-government, moderation, and freedom of opinion within the Congress itself, without which

it must inevitably stultify its own ambitions, prejudice the progress of India, forfeit the adherence and respect of moderate people who believe in liberty.

On the constitutional issues I will only say that our whole-hearted support lies behind His Excellency the Viceroy in his great and anxious task. The lofty idealism, the burning sincerity and the determination of His Excellency the Viceroy to bring India through to her full stature in face of every difficulty and obstacle, real or adventitious, has graved itself on the consciousness of India.

It is, I venture to say, for all parties, fully aware of the difficulties which stand in the way, to bring so far as in us lies the same idealism and the same determination to the solution of our problems.

We do appreciate these difficulties. It is no good service to minimize them. We may differ from the phrasing of the last part of this resolution, but, Sir, finally I would say this that the whole history of Britain, since the development of self-governing institutions overseas began, is proof beyond doubt or question of the determination of Britain to bring India to full self-government.

I would ask members to recollect, to remember instance within their own experience, to remember tales handed down from the past of devoted service by members of the Indian Civil Service, through many generations.

I would ask members to remember as the Chief Minister has said that for over a century a warring continent—and we are talking of a continent as of Europe a continent of diverse, often hostile, races—this warring continent has enjoyed peace within its frontiers under the protection of British troops.

It is by that protection in the last resort alone that the views of the Left Wing, views often hostile to Britain and her cause, are canvassed, in time of war, throughout the length and breadth of India to-day.

Of ourselves I do not wish to speak. But I will say this, that there is no member in the Party which I lead, for which I am now speaking, who has not in some way freely and of conviction contributed all within his power to the development and advancement of India. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I support the motion of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister.

Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: I would like my honourable colleagues in this House to realise that I am speaking with a full sense of responsibility. My leader, the Leader of the Opposition, in the course of his unmatched and eloquent speech explained the position

of the Congress Party. I unfortunately have not the time at my disposal to deal with all the problems that have been raised in this House. Nor is it possible for me to take note of every word that has been uttered during the last three days.

If I may begin with the last speaker, the Leader of the European Group, I would like to remind him and his friends that we are very suspicious of the war aims as proclaimed in Great Britain to-day. I said the other day on the floor of this House that there is much greater cause for spontaneous sympathy in India for Great Britain and France during the present war than there was in 1914. I think I spoke the truth. At the same time you cannot purchase the obedience of the people of a great country by mere propaganda, by mere phrases. All that the amendment of the Leader of the Opposition meant and other amendments also meant in effect are that India must be considered a free agent in determining her destiny in war and peace. It has been said—I do not know if inside this House, but certainly outside—we are all out to bargain with England in times of England's difficulties. That is not so. There is no bargaining spirit in the commercial sense. Sir, we are wanted to give effective assistance to Great Britain and France and to other powers for the vindication of democratic principles. But at the same time it must be free co-operation, and that is the substance of the amendment of the Leader of the Opposition. If that is denied, it should not be said of us that we failed in our duty to the world, because after all it is not Europe that constitutes the world, it is not India that constitutes the world, it is not the so-called British Empire that constitutes the world. The world is linked up by a chain of communications including the chain of thought and it is for the sake of peaceful conditions which Mahatma Gandhi has visualised and which the Leader of the European Group quoted without quoting Gandhi fully, if it is for that, we must be able to render effective co-operation in the cause of vindication of the rights of the people. Here to-day what do we find? Suspicion. After all why is it? Why is it that Indians have not been asked to join the army? In this matter there may be differences of opinion between myself and some members of my party. At the same time, I cannot help recalling that immediately after the termination of the last war the Bengali regiment was disbanded in a merciless manner. Eight thousand men were thrown out of employment—eight thousand and many more thousands who had served India and England faithfully and well. Why is it to-day that we are not called upon to give assistance in the work connected with the war? Perhaps I am going beyond the scope of the permitted programme of my speech; but at the same time, I feel so strongly about it that I cannot help giving expression to my feeling. Speaking of the totalitarian States, I know very well that atrocities are committed in the totalitarian States. And what about India? Was ever anything

done anywhere in totalitarian States which could excel the achievements of the British army and British Generals in Jalinwalla Bagh? Every drop of innocent blood that stained the Jalinwalla Bagh spoke against the British rule in India. Those who saw Julianwalla Bagh knew that every sod of the Bagh spoke against the British rule. We know very well that if at any time India gets her freedom, that freedom will have to be attained by the Indian. We do not want to attain it as a free gift, nor as a result of India's bargaining. As a true nationalist, as I hope I am, I take upon myself 90 per cent. of the blame of their servitude.

I do not accuse the British people of more than 10 per cent. of the crime which keeps us in subjection. This leads me to the question of minorities. The question of minorities has been laboured very much. At the same time, it must be remembered that the Congress at the risk of misrepresentation and misunderstanding has always stood by the minorities. But minorities are sometimes manufactured and created. I would refer you to the statements made by Lord Morley and to the statements which were unearthed by a relation of Lord Minto himself. There you find that the minorities' question was really manufactured and Lord Morley in one of his dispatches published in his recollections definitely stated that the late Lord Minto who was Governor-General of India at that time was responsible for creating the minorities' problem. We do not ignore minorities; on the contrary we accept them, but at the same time I do feel that in secular matters, matters concerning faith and religion, there is a community of interests which is strong enough to bind the entire nation. I would like to tell you this that if we are given an opportunity of meeting in a Constituent Assembly, it is perfectly certain that in spite of initial troubles, intial difficulties created by ourselves and those who govern us to-day in India, we shall come to a conclusion which would be satisfactory to India, and which may be helpful to the British Commonwealth of Nations. I am not a believer in Empires, but I do confess that if there is sufficient spirit of co-operation, England and India can go on as friends and achieve much in this world hand in hand; for that there is only one condition, and that condition is equality. Without equality of status, you cannot have confidence. You cannot give us liberty; at the same time you cannot demand our co-operation without your ready acceptance of the conditions which govern that co-operation. We are not prepared to say that we will not co-operate with Great Britain in this war. We are prepared to co-operate with Great Britain in this war, but on a footing of equality. I believe I am right in saying that that is the sole implication of the amendment of the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition. If we are to go on doing our duty by ourselves and by those who are demanding our assistance we have to do so in a spirit of friendliness. Suspicion does not breed friendliness. Why is it that

Indian units of defence have not been formed yet? I am very strong on this point. I do not know if the Leader of the Opposition agrees with me entirely. I want Indians to bear arms, as I said the other day and as I have said from public platforms; I want my country to be armed—by my country I mean my countrymen. I want my countrymen to be able to defend the shores of India. That is a very important point even from the British point of view. During the last war there was a period, not a very short period, when India was denuded of regular troops. What happended? India offered assistance which was very grudgingly accepted. Perhaps, according to the traditional history of India it was possible for India to muddle through, but it may not be possible for all time to come for England to muddle through in an Indian crisis. Let this be known, and understood, and realized by every British man and woman of this country; the rape of India in past years, in centuries gone by, is a standing scandal in the history of the world ("Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches), but at the same time, time is a great soothing agent. We are quite prepared to forget many things—which if we think of them wound us very much, provided India is able to stand on her legs and to assert to the world her freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I know you are looking at me. My time is short. There is one thing I should end with. Rabindranath Tagore, the Poet Laureate of the world, is more an internationalist than a nationalist. He has believed in and he has preached to humanity the doctrine of the brotherhood of man I shall recall only one line of a very great poem of his, which he fortunately for me has translated into English. I wish that my country should realize that her duty is to progress and to win freedom with the blessings of that great poet who said: "In that heaven of freedom let my country awake". Let this great opportunity be not thrown away by my people. Let this great opportunity be not thrown away by the British people. There is a chance of a great adjustment which is the law of life.

Mr. JATINDRANATH BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the course of the discussions in this House on the resolution now before us there have been controversial points which have been argued with ability. The time at my command is so limited that I will not refer to those controversies again. But in the course of those discussions, there have also emerged certain points about which there is almost unanimous agreement. Sir, as has been repeatedly pointed out before in the course of this debate, we are now facing a world in which recently two small nationalities have been blotted out of the map of the world. Those are Czechoslovakia and Poland. There is no party in this House that does not desire to see the devastated nationalities set on their feet again.

Sir, our whole-hearted sympathy is with them. But what we feel is that we can give them only moral support. The condition in which we are placed prevents us from offering material support to them. As regards material support, we could help them with money and we could help them with men. But our poverty is such, especially since the slump which came about in 1929, that it is not possible for the people of this country to come forward and help with money. We could have helped with men. But there has been no training of the people of this country except to a small extent limited to the standing army here. There has always been a demand from all provinces that they should have facilities for training of their people for the defence of their hearths and homes. It has been said in the course of this debate that that desire could not be acceded to because of the great cost involved. But, Sir, much poorer countries than ourselves, for instance, Turkey, has a big standing army to defend their country and the homes of their people. If the question was carefully gone into, I am quite sure that the necessary means could be found to organise our people for the purpose of defence. I trust our Government will consider the matter and urge upon the Central Government and the Government in England the immediate necessity of having local army units in the different provinces of India, so that no province may feel that it is entirely dependent upon outsiders, upon the Gurkhas and Pathans from across the frontier to defend them. That is demoralising, and I trust that they will see that such demoralisation is not continued.

Sir, I have only one other remark to make and that on the concluding part of the resolution moved by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister. Sir, in the shaping of a constitution for India it is no doubt necessary that all the parties should as far as possible agree to it and that the claims of the minorities should be given due weight. The resolution however speaks of "recognised minorities". The expression "recognised minorities" brings about some difficulties. If that expression is used to mean all the minorities in this country, then there would not be any objection to it. I trust the Hon'ble the Chief Minister will elucidate the expression "recognised minorities". I again say that all of us are united in our desire to help the devastated nationalities. We are willing to help provided we have the requisite facilities for defence, but unfortunately we do not possess those facilities.

Khan Bahadur A. M. L. RAHMAN: It is said that war is the outcome of evil and productive of evil. But on the other hand it must be recognised how good things also are in strange-wise brought out of evil by the divine act running through history. It is somewhat disconcerting however to think that what is spoken of now as the wonderful drawing together of the democratic and peace-loving peoples of the world is to be represented in such strange and terrible bodily guise. We know that since the dawn of history men have moved over

wide regions seeking and slaying and what we see now is that still larger armies of the world are mowing men down at long range on land, sea and air. This war has come at the end of an epoch wherein a certain process, rightly or wrongly, has gone forward at a rate such as has never been observed at any earlier time. That process is the formation in the human family of even longer groups with common ideals, common interest and common tasks. Science, international system and economic organisations are handling larger masses of men more organically. Neither Europe nor any other continent will be left the same as before, but a harvest of good-will will never come automatically out of their convulsion. That will depend on the citizens of each country, on their attitude and their actions. So India cannot remain a silent spectator. She will also have to play her part.

Sir, what will happen to the democratic civilisation of the world if Fascism and Nazism succeed in establishing themselves everywhere is a question well worth asking. Those who have the sense to know what are the foundations of any worthy existence will not take long to decide the direction in which they should set their course. And they cannot let things go from bad to worse. They must quicken their efforts and strengthen their resources. In the Near East practically every country has joined the Peace Front We, in India, have been clamouring for independence; but independence is a mere myth, freedom a mere fiction if we are not strong enough to defend ourselves. And independence is only for those who value the independence of others. England's hour of grim trial is *not* India's golden hour of gain. The spirit must be deserve first then desire. If there is no protection for the democracies of the world, there is no security for our own existence either. Modern methods of war have conquered the most invincible geographical barriers of the world. Abyssinia, Poland and Finland stand before our eyes, ravaged and mutilated. Aggression on weaker and smaller nationalities must cease before Europe can give birth to lasting peace. But war of armaments cannot be ended by battle of arguments. Mein Kampf should have convinced the honourable members of the Opposition. Extracts from old speeches and quotations from magazines tickle nations that speak through the mouths of the cannons. Thank God, however, that whatever may have been the political blunders of Europe in the past, the truth is slowly dawning upon them that this the apothesis of brute force is also its final end. If India is to be the torch-bearer of philosophy of peace, she cannot shirk her duties now. She cannot let posterity declare that Indians at this world crisis stood for India alone and not for humanity. Partner in the commonwealth of nations if she is anxious to be, partner in defending democracy she must also be.

Britain has involved her in the war without the consent of her people. That is the common charge. But involved she must be. His Majesty's

Government is at war and His Majesty's troops are ready to give battle everywhere. The Indian troops are an example to the whole world. They can give proof of their valour and courage in any theatre of war and they wait for none when the call comes. Soldiers are not politicians. They serve their kind loyally and unconditionally. These gallant sons of India truly laid the foundations of democracy and freedom. Political agitation and propaganda may have given the lines and forms. But for the sacrifices of those brave and simple men, gentlemen of the Opposition could not have abused Britain in times of war. That is food for thought. Let us not forget for a moment that their precious blood in the last war decided the destiny of India. Britain and India became linked for ever. But what is the situation in India to-day? The League and the Congress have not yet been able to come to an agreed solution on the method of attaining her future constitution. The gulf between the two communities is widening still. The states have a resolute will of their own. Two years of provincial autonomy has left a scar somewhere which is difficult to heal. Minorities are apprehensive. Party Governments have been charged of abuse of power in many a place. And now, if Britain has to deliver the goods she must take stock of hard realities.

If it is true, as has been said in this House the other day, that the Hindus of Bengal have been the loudest in the demand for freedom, it is also equally true that the Muslims of the Punjab have always mounted guard to prevent interruption. Hindus and Muslims have equal claims. So let us adjust our differences. Sir, unite we must. That is our salvation. The rushing tide of events has given warning enough. If there is no concerted action on our part, one slip will flounder soon. The dominion must remain intact before the status is reached.

(Mr. Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar rose to speak.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Mazumdar, will you kindly note that it is nearly twenty minutes to seven, and I want to close the debate at ten minutes to seven.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is the third day of the discussion on the Hon'ble the Chief Minister's resolution on war. Sir, while we have been listening all this while to the speeches made and to the various viewpoints expressed in the course of this debate, the thought that has been coming uppermost in our mind is this, that the real war has not yet started. It is yet to come, and we here are engaged in this debate standing at the threshhold of this world carnage that is soon to set in. We, Sir, need not waste more words to expose the war aims of Great Britain. The war aims of Great Britain by now stand thoroughly exposed. War aims of Great Britain have been traced historically by citation of an infinite mass of material by

the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition. One fact that came out of his speech is that after the last Great War which was not war of annexation, which was a war to end war,—we found the fact that came out most prominently was the swallowing by the British Government of a thousand million acres of more territories at the end of the war. To-day this thousand million territory which was swallowed by the British Government at the expense of Germany, at the expense of Turkey, and the expense of other powers, has been the chief cause of this present war. Sir, it is no good trying to camouflage the war aims of British Government by taking shelter behind hollow and platitudinous slogans like the defence of democracy. The world was once defrauded, deceived and led into a bloody bath during the four years of 1914 to 1918, when the slogan—the defence of fatherland, was much in fashion. As a result of that experience we find to-day that the defence of fatherland which no longer serves the purpose of deceiving innocent people of all the lands has been replaced by the new slogan—defence of democracy.

In this connection, before we make our observations, let me, Sir, through you, assure this House, and through you let us make it clear, that we feel very deeply that the war guilt is not a matter which lies on the shoulders of the people of any of the belligerent powers. Sir, when I propose to address myself on the war question, I make a distinction between the Government of Great Britain and the people of Great Britain, as much as we make a distinction between the Government of India and the people of India. As Indian we know that we have been proclaimed as a participant by virtue of the dictatorial and more than totalitarian powers which are invested in the Governor-General of this country. Sir, this war is neither a making of the people of Great Britain. The war of Great Britain has been, whether at the expense of the British people or whether at the expense of Indian people, to defend to the last ditch by fire and sword the million square miles of areas which were annexed by the British Empire in the course of the last war. And who does not know it to-day, Sir, that the British Empire which is but a synonym of acquisition by force, by fraud, by plunder, or loot of terrorities, wrested from all the people of the world. To-day just about the time when this realisation was dawning upon India for standing in unity in defence of Indian motherland, in defence of establishing democracy in India, we find that this new war has come, and a new flood of false propaganda has been sweeping to-day. But that curtain of false propaganda has already been torn asunder.

Here, Sir, we have been asked by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to defend his resolution which proclaims unqualified support in the war for Great Britain in lieu of the assurance that after the war will be over India will be granted Dominion Status. May I ask this House, Sir, of whom are you asking this assurance about granting of Dominion Status?

Soon after the war broke out thousands of Indian seamen had been risking their lives every day in the sea, and an incompetent Government, which failed to give adequate protection to the Indian seamen all over the seas, put them into prison when they asked for equal wages with their British fellow seamen. Their just rights were not granted but they were penalized. Sir, those enterprising profiteers maintained their profiteering by force, by fraud and by promise without the slightest desire of fulfilling them. Are we to-day as Indians, after the sacrifice written in blood at Jalianwalla Bagh, after we have seen the fate of Turkey being dismembered, after the bombing of Indian villages in the North-Western Frontier by the same Government, after the proclamation of freedom and right of self-determination now over twenty years ago when the world is prepared for another war, are we to be taken by these hollow promises and utterances. It has been made amply clear that the Hon'ble Ministers themselves do not agree what they are aiming at It has been made amply clear that they have been advocating support to the war not with conviction but with guilty conscience, knowing that in India's history in future their names will go down as traitors who tried to deceive their country and lead their people to a bloody carnage not for the liberation of mankind, not for the liberation of the people of India, not for the establishment of democracy. If to-day British were really fighting for democracy it would be simple enough test for Great Britain to show that democracy could be established in India which is inhabited by 350 million people, without firing a single shot But what do we find? We find that even the little constitution which was granted by the British Parliament was amended on the eve of the war.

We find the constitution in the nine provinces, where ministries had been vacated by the Congress, was suspended, and the British Government did not think it fit to call even the Muslim League Ministers or members to form their own Cabinets. The British Government knows very well that excepting Bengal they cannot rely upon Indians anywhere else, whether governed by Congress or by the Muslim League. Much has been talked about the rights of minorities, but it leaves me to hear the truth about the rights of minorities. To-day the Muslims find or the Hindus find in Bengal whether they are in majority or minority that their rights have to be defended under the protection of the British bayonet——

(Here the member reached the time-limit and was allowed one minute to finish his speech.)

The only assurance on the basis of which the British Government to-day is relying on the present Ministry is this that the Ministry is entirely dependent on the artificially crumped-up majority. We find here that 51 per cent. of the seats represent Indian opinion. I am here to admit this fact that 51 per cent. majority in this House has been

created by an artificial method. Let our Muslim brothers have the majority in this House, but why bring in the intruders, I mean the group over there (pointing to the European Group)? Why not chuck them and have a Muslim majority or Hindu majority without them? India is fighting for her right——(here the member reached his time-limit and resumed his seat).

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, because I have decided to speak to-night, it should not be understood that I accept in all its aspects the picture which the Hon'ble the Chief Minister presented before the House while he was speaking to the resolution. I must also state that I remain unconvinced on the points raised by the honourable the Leader of the Opposiion in his biblical speech. I consider it my duty to present before the House the viewpoint of the Muslims of India and of the All-India Muslim League. It is a pity to note, Sir, how little we and our views are understood by the worthy gentlemen who have begun to consider themselves as the *thekadars* of Indian politics. They do not even try to understand the position of the All-India Muslim League in regard to the resolution now before this Assembly. The honourable member who spoke last has given me a good suggestion. He does make a distinction between the Government of England and the people of England. Why can he and his colleagues not make a distinction between the Government of Bengal and the All-India Muslim League? We in the Muslim League decided not to follow the principle of resignation from office as laid down by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress. We decided, on the other hand, that Governments in the Punjab and in Bengal should continue until the League came to a final decision. If the Government in Bengal does continue to function then, Sir, such a Government under the present Government of India Act, has to obey orders which do not emanate from the All-India Muslim League. Under these conditions if the present Government in Bengal brings forward a resolution of the type we are discussing, it should not be understood that the All-India Muslim League has given up the position it took up in the two resolutions passed by its Working Committee in Delhi, in September and October.

Sir, many an argument about liberty and freedom has been used today and on the two days we have been discussing the resolution. We have talked tall about India, about the Hindus and about the Muslims. The Muslim League has declared for complete independence——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Are you supporting the resolution?

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: If you do not understand, please keep quiet.

Now, Sir, as I was saying when we stand for full and complete independence, I ask honourable members sitting opposite to realise that the independence we have been talking of, both from the Congress platform and from the League platform, was drowned in the tears of Mahatma Gandhi. He had no business to go and shed tears before the Viceroy on an occasion when the whole future of India was at stake. The honourable the Deputy Leader of the Opposition has unearthed from certain historical books that minorities were manufactured in India by the late Lord Minto. May I, Sir, ask the honourable gentleman and the members of his Party to give me one instance of a Muslim elected through the joint electorates to any Provincial Legislature or the old Imperial Legislative Council before the year of Grace 1909. Minorities manufactured! No. Because we did not receive justice at the hands of the majority, we were forced to ask for separate electorates ourselves. How can the gentlemen sitting opposite go against the principles and the ideas underlying the rights of minorities when in the Congress constitution itself the rights of the minorities were recognised? Any resolution in the Congress which was opposed by a certain specified majority of the Muslim members present, dropped *ipso facto*. Now, Sir, if that is so, I ask them through you why do you not declare now what rights you propose to give to us in the India of the future? Why do you throw us into the lap of friends sitting to my right (pointing to European Group)? Why do you not tell us openly and plainly "You are outsiders who came from Arabia, Persia and Central Asia. We shall not allow you to stay in this India of ours on conditions other than those laid down by us." I have asked dozens of my Congress friends "Please tell us what are your ideas and terms and conditions"? They have always asked the Muslims to prepare a list of demands so that they may pick holes into it. Surely, Sir they have got some sort of a solution for this problem of all problems. Muslim India has read the history of India for the last three thousand years. Brahmanical philosophy and the caste-ridden mentality of the Hindus do not provide a single spot where we could lay our head in comfort. There was once Buddhism also in India. We want to retain our identity in this country. Though the Muslims in India are a minority, they constitute 90 millions of the population. Please sit down, put your heads together, go to your leaders of the High Command and then come out with a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. When this is done you will find a sympathetic echo in the heart of every Muslim. But so far we have all along found and the administration of the eight Congress provinces has shown to us, that you have no mercy for us. The word "traitor" was used for the Government of Bengal. That word can be used with greater force for the people who have surrendered eight provinces of India to the party they consider as the enemy of the country. After that I consider honourable gentlemen opposite out of court when they talk so glibly of this Government of

traitors. A day may come when the *bania* mentality, as I have said once before outside this House, will have to be brushed aside first, and it may be that the goal of liberty will be won by my Muslim brothers and the rest of the country will follow them through it. They are now talking of a Constituent Assembly. We know what it means and what is behind it. Why could they not think of a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem for the last 30 years? More than one unity conference has been convened in the past. They were our Constituent Assemblies. Mahatma Gandhi has found many a formula, but something has always happened and the great leaders of the Congress have always come forward with apologies and postponements. I speak with some knowledge of the subject. There is nothing reasonable that the Muslims have not agreed to except the one point that they shall not give up their separate identity. Utterances like "nationalism is synonymous with Hinduism and he who is not within its pale is not a nationalist" are statements to which we cannot and we will not subscribe.

This resolution may be passed or it may not be passed. The British Government will take all the soldiers it needs from the Punjab and the Hon'ble the Finance Member of the Government of India will have as much money as he needs out of the resources of the different provinces of India. Let us hope that when the war ends and the time has come for something constructive to be done for the country, honourable members opposite will not only have removed the blot on the name of the Congress and the administrations it had set up in the Congress provinces but, if possible, will have also found a solution to our trouble. The solution is there, but fears, doubts suspicions, lack of mutual confidence and trust take us outside the orbit of friendship and brotherhood. If the solution is not found, our bickerings and quarrels will go on and we shall remain slaves.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, it is a matter of the deepest regret to me that the debates on this resolution should have unhappily ended in a note of disagreement between one of my honoured colleagues and myself regarding a vital point in this resolution. I knew, Sir, the views which he holds and to which he has given expression. I respect those views. I had hoped that calm reflection would have led him to consider the implications of a discordant note at this juncture and that he would have been able to persuade himself to fall into line with us and not show to the world an unedifying spectacle of a split over such an important matter. Sir, I have been too long in politics not to be able to realize that there are unexpected surprises for the politicians. The course of genuine politics like the course of true love seldom runs smooth; but, Sir, it is somewhat disconcerting for a general to find one of his colleagues somewhat restive, and it does not

conduce to the peace of mind of the fighting forces if they have got to deliberate over the conduct either of generals or soldiers when they are surrounded by the shell fire of enemies and have to carry on operations under the reverberations of enemy guns. I will say nothing, Sir, on this point but proceed to offer a few remarks on the main issues that have been raised in the debates.

Let me refer, Sir, to the point about which so much has been said, and one on which I find myself somewhat in disagreement with my friend Mr. Sarker In the future constitution of India, the interests of minorities have got to be adequately safeguarded. We are all agreed on that The resolution goes one step further, and here I declare in no uncertain terms that that constitution must not be super-imposed on unwilling minorities and that it must have the approval and the consent of the minorities of India. ("Hear, hear" from the Coalition Benches.) The question has been put, what if the minorities do not agree to the viewpoint of the majority? Should the minority be allowed to hold up the advancement of the country simply because they are a favoured section, simply because they think in their own judgment that a constitution that has been framed is not according to their liking or which they can legitimately support? Now, Sir, I say most emphatically that if that contingency arises, and the minority cannot accept the constitution that has been framed, that the minority does not consider the safeguards provided sufficient for its protection, I do say that in that case the political progress of the country must be held up, till the majority recognize their duty to the minority and their fundamental rights. So far as India is concerned, if a constitution is framed which does not meet with the approval of the Muslims and other minorities, let me declare here and now that there will be open revolt and revolution. (Cheers from the Coalition Benches.) Let me declare here and now that if a constitution is framed which the Muslims, the Scheduled Castes and other minorities do not approve of, I will be one of the first to revolt. (Cheers and applause from the Coalition Benches.) I will march with my colleagues to the gates of the Viceregal Lodge and remind His Majesty's representative for the fulfilment of the solemn pledges which the successive British sovereigns have given, since the days of Queen Victoria, to the Indian people (Interruptions from the Opposition Benches.) It is no use disturbing me like that. Don't take this occasion with so much levity Let me tell my friend Dr Sanyal that no amount of interruptions on his part will change the political atmosphere in India nor will it make the 90 millions of Muslims bend their knees in allegiance to the Indian National Congress. (Applause from the Coalition Benches.) The facts, as they are, it is the majority, the Indian National Congress, that has stood in the way of India's political progress. They are a selfish lot. They are "dishonest". (Cries of protest from the Congress Benches.) I call them "dishonest". (Renewed

cries of protest and cries of "withdraw the expression, withdraw" from the Congress Benches, which led to an uproar in the House with counter-cries from the Coalition Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I am very sorry; under these circumstances, it is not possible for me to allow the debate to continue. I hope the Hon'ble the Chief Minister will now conclude his speech.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order. Was the Hon'ble the Chief Minister in order in charging the Congress with "dishonesty", the members of the Congress with "dishonesty"?

(Cries of "certainly" from the Coalition Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. There was such a tremendous interruption that I did not hear whether the Hon'ble the Chief Minister meant the Congress Party or the Congress. My impression is that he referred to the Congress. (Shouts from all sides.)

Order, order. I think, gentlemen, you should not presume to exercise the right which the Speaker has in this House. I am very sorry to say that such things are happening on the floor of the House at a time when they might develop into a crisis. My impression is that he used the expression about the Congress

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Ask him.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am not going to ask him; that is what I have heard. I will see what the reporters have taken and then I will see to it. I hope (to Chief Minister) you will finish your speech soon.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I remind the Chief Minister that what he said was this "Congress belongs to the majority community and is dishonest"? I submit that is not permissible in this House.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will see to it. Will the Chief Minister conclude? There are still many things to be done, motions will have to be voted upon, etc.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, you will see that I am not interrupted in this way.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: He must withdraw the expression.

Mr. SPEAKER: My impression is that it is not unparliamentary. If it is so, I will not hesitate to say that it is unparliamentary and to take such action as I think proper.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: My friend Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee talked about the unalterable majority under the Government of India Act. My friend forgets that under the Government of India Act there is only one unalterable majority which is the overwhelming majority of the Hindus in most of the provinces of India. It is in Bengal and the Punjab that the Muslims are in a slight majority, but even there in the Legislature we are not at all in a majority. Sir, I would have thought that in the circumstances instead of using strong words to wound some allowances should have been made for the feelings of the Muslims and other minority communities. I find on every occasion that when something is said which is not approved of by the members of the Opposition, there is a tremendous uproar and my friends on the other side find it difficult to put up with the views not in consonance with the views of theirs.

(At this stage there were interruptions.)

I think it is not necessary for me to speak further.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I would say that any person, however high his position may be, who goes the length of convicting a whole community of dishonesty ends by convicting himself of dishonesty.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not necessary for me to read all the amendments one after another.

The motion of Mr. Abdul Hakeem that—

(1) In place of full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the "war" substitute the following:—

"Unconditional support and full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the war" in the second paragraph.

The second paragraph be replaced by the following:—

"This Assembly, therefore, authorises Government to assure the Government of India full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the war *on the footing that India should be recognised as an Independent Nation, immediately on the termination of the war*", and

(2) Delete the entire third paragraph,

was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. C. Griffiths that in paragraph III of the War Resolution insert the words "especially the Anglo-Indian Community" after the word "minorities", was then put and lost.

The motion of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee that the following be substituted in place of the last paragraph of the Government resolution:—

"In order to make such co-operation possible and effective this Assembly urges Government to take immediate steps—

(I) to enable the Bengalees to participate in the defence of their motherland (*a*) by the removal of the distinction between the so-called martial and non-martial classes; (*b*) by affording to the Bengalees military training on an extensive scale in all branches of warfare; (*c*) by raising Bengalee Regiments and organising Mechanised Units on a permanent footing and (*d*) by the modification of the Indian Arms Act, so as to bring it into line with the law obtaining in England;

(II) to convey to the British Government the necessity for an immediate and unequivocal declaration that consistently with the avowed aims of the present war, the principles of democracy and freedom shall be applied to India unreservedly, her right to become a free and independent country shall be recognised and as an immediate step towards the attainment of such independence, full Dominion Status as implemented by the Statute of Westminster shall be conferred on India at the end of the war; and

(III) to convey to the British Government that in order to secure the full co-operation of the people of Bengal in the present struggle for the protection of democracy steps should forthwith be taken for the removal of the disabilities and inequities on the Hindus who form a minority in Bengal, resulting from the operation of the present constitution and specially to secure the revision of the so-called Communal Award which is manifestly anti-democratic and is seriously retarding the growth of nationalism in the country."

was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. M. Shamsuddin Ahmed that paragraph 1 of the resolution be amended as follows:—

(*a*) Put "Imperialistic and" before totalitarian

(*b*) The words "and outside" be inserted between the words "in" and "Europe".

(*c*) Add "and Dependencies" after "nation".

(*d*) Add "and express its complete disapproval of the manner in which India has been made a participant in the war against her consent" after dependencies.

(*e*) Delete "which are now at the mercy of.....territorial integrity".

Paragraph 1 after amendment would read as follows:—

This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by the Imperialistic and totalitarian Governments in and outside Europe against the smaller nations and dependencies; and declares its sympathy with the British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in the defence of democracy and of the right of self-determination of smaller and weaker nations and expresses its complete disapproval of the manner in which India has been made a participant in the war against her consent.

For paragraphs 2 and 3 of the original resolution substitute the following:—

Paragraph 2.—This Assembly therefore recommends to the Government to convey to the Government of India and through them to the British Government that in consonance with the professed aims of the present war it is essential in order to secure the co-operation of the Indian people that principles of democracy and freedom should forthwith be applied to India and her policy should be guided by her people and that India should be recognised as an independent nation entitled to frame her own constitution through a Constituent Assembly to be elected on universal adult franchise with sufficient and effective safeguards for the recognised minorities and their interests; and further that suitable action should be taken in so far as it is possible in the immediate present to give effect to that principle in regard to the present governance of India.

was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Narendra Das Gupta that—

This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by totalitarian Government in Europe and declares its complete sympathy with the British Government for taking up arms against Germany, which may ensure freedom of smaller and weaker nations which are now at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive dictator-ridden states and cannot unaided maintain their territorial integrity.

This Assembly therefore authorises Government to assure the Government of India full and effective co-operation for the defence of India, which will materially help the British people in the successful prosecution of the war.

This Assembly further authorises the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government that in consonance with the aims of the present war, as declared by that Government and understood by India and consistent with the declared ideal of the British Empire as a Commonwealth of free nations and with a view to ensure confidence and inspiration among the people of India, which is so very necessary at the present juncture, the attainment by India of the status of a free nation should be implemented immediately on the termination of the war, recognising the right of the people of India to frame their own constitution as a free people. The communal decision of the British Cabinet, which is not only anti-national and undemocratic but does gross injustice to the Hindu minority of Bengal and elsewhere should altogether be scratched from the constitution, and if Indians themeslves feel that some sort of safeguards is necessary for the protection of minorities and interests adequate provisions will be made for them in the contsitution.

This Assembly furthermore affirms that with a view to make co-operation with the British Government effective for the successful termination of the war millions of Bengalees and other Indians should be freely admitted in the army, navy and air force without delay not only as soldiers but officers of all ranks; and complete arrangement should be made for the preparation of war materials and construction of battleships, war-planes, etc., in India,

was then put and lost.

The motion of Babu Kshetra Nath Singha that—

(1) in continuation of the paragraph 2 and after the word "war" add the following:—

"by enlisting men in active military service from all provinces and communities."

Was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Amrita Lal Mondal that—

(1) In paragraph 3 in the 5th line of the resolution as notified after the words "free nations" the following lines be added:—

"There should be an immediate declaration in the British Parliament as to."

(2) Also add after "British Government" in the (3rd paragraph) 8th line of the resolution:—

"and to the effect that it".

(3) After "interests" in the 11th line of 3rd paragraph add:—

"specially Scheduled classes which should be based on the full consent and approval of their accredited representatives" and

Omit rest of the sentence.

Was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Premhari Barma that in paragraph 3 of the War Resolution after the word "formulated" the words "by a Constituent Assembly called for the purpose" and after the word "minorities" the words "including the Scheduled Castes" should be inserted, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Upendra Nath Barman that in paragraph 3 in line 21 of the resolution as notified after the word "constitution" the rest of the paragraph be omitted and the following clause and paragraph be added, namely:—

"be framed by a Constituent Assembly, which the agriculturists and the labours of the country will have real, effective and superior representation.

This Assembly further authorises the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government, that in order that India's full co-operation as indicated in paragraph 2 might be a spontaneous one, the declaration in terms as indicated in paragraph 3 may be made forthwith."

Was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose—

That paragraph 1 of the Resolution be amended as follows:—

(a) the words "imperialistic and" be inserted between the words "by" and "totalitarian" in lines 2 and 3;

(b) the words "and outside" be inserted between the words "in" and "Europe" in line 3;

(c) the words "British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in the defence of democracy and of the right of self-determination of the" in lines 4-6 be deleted;

(*d*) the words "oppressed and" be substituted for the word "smaller" in line 6;

(*e*) the words "dictator ridden" in lines 7-8 be deleted;

(*f*) the words "and independence" be added after the word "integrity" in line 9.

That paragraph 1 of the Resolution be amended to read as follows:—

"This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by imperialistic and totalitarian Governments in and outside Europe and declares its complete sympathy with the oppressed and weaker nations which are not at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive states and cannot, unaided, maintain their territorial integrity and independence."

That for paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Resolution the following paragraphs be substituted:—

"This Assembly, however, regrets that the British Government have made India a participant in the war between Great Britain and Germany without the consent of the people of India and have further in complete disregard of Indian opinion passed laws and adopted measures curtailing the powers and activities of the Provincial Governments."

"This Assembly is of opinion that the Government should convey to the Government of India and through them to the British Government that in consonance with the avowed aims of the present war, it is essential in order to secure the co-operation of the Indian people that the principles of democracy with adequate safeguards for the preservation of the rights and interests of the minorities, be immediately applied to India and her policy be guided by her people; and that India should be recognised as an independent nation entitled to frame her own constitution and further that suitable action should be taken in so far as it is possible in the immediate present to give effect to that principle in regard to the present governance of India."

Was then put and lost.

The resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq to move that—

This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by totalitarian Governments in Europe and declares its complete sympathy

with the British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in the defence of democracy and of the right of self-determination of the smaller and weaker nations which are now at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive dictator-ridden states and cannot, unaided, maintain their territorial integrity.

This Assembly, therefore, authorises Government to assure the Government of India full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the war.

This Assembly further authorises the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government that in consonance with the aims of the present war, as declared by that Government, and understood by India and consistent with the accepted ideal of the British Empire as a Commonwealth of free nations, the attainment by India of the status of a Dominion as defined in the Statute of Westminster which is the declared policy of the British Government, should be implemented immediately on the termination of the war and the New Constitution formulated should provide sufficient and effective safeguards for the recognised minorities and interests and should be based upon their full consent and approval.

Was then put and a division called.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. May I remind you about the point of order raised by me at the beginning when the resolution was moved and ask whether you have found the resolution in order under the Assembly Rules and Procedure?

Mr. SPEAKER: I could not immediately give a ruling on this point, because the point is very complicated. So far as I have seen the apparent form if it is in contradiction to the spirit of the regulations which we have. We have compared it with the rules and regulations of other Provinces and I find that in other provinces there are exactly the same rules as we have. But exactly the same type of resolution as in Bengal has been taken in exactly the same form.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: No, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, I have got the whole file with me, and please hear my decision. You know that I have been a lawyer and I always speak with my brief.

Inspite of exactly the same rule as we have got, the resolution which has been passed in other provinces in connection with war is not an expression of the opinion of the House but a decision of the

House. I feel that if this principle is accepted there will be a constitutional danger. One of the fundamental principles of the Parliamentary constitution is that the Executive is responsible for the administration and the Legislatures function as legislative body and not as executive. This resolution has been drafted in such a form by which the House has been given executive power which is a constitutional impropriety in British Constitution. In a matter like this I will not rule it out for the time being for the reason that there has been some precedent in other provinces. But I will certainly look into the matter much more carefully on a later occasion. If any doubt arises I will certainly rule out such resolution as it is now drafted. For the time being, subject to the remarks I have made, I find that the resolution is in order.

The resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq that—

This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by totalitarian Governments in Europe and declares its complete sympathy with the British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in the defence of democracy and of the right of self-determination of the smaller and weaker nations which are now at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive dictator-ridden states and cannot, unaided, maintain their territorial integrity.

This Assembly, therefore, authorises Government to assure the Government of India full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the war.

This Assembly further authorises the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government that in consonance with the aims of the present war, as declared by that Government, and understood by India and consistent with the accepted ideal of the British Empire as a Commonwealth of free nations, the attainment by India of the status of a Dominion as defined in the Statute of Westminster which is the declared policy of the British Government, should be implemented immediately on the termination of the war and the New Constitution formulated should provide sufficient and effective safeguards for the recognised minorities and interests and should be based upon their full consent and approval.

was then put to vote and a Division taken with the following result:—

AYES—142.

Abdul Aziz, Maulana Md.
Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Mirza.
Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Mia.
Abdul Hakeem, Mr.
Abdul Hakim, Maulvi.
Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri, Maulvi Md.
Abdul Hamid, Mr. A. M.
Abdul Jabbar, Maulvi.
Abdul Kader, Mr. (alias Lal Meah).
Abdul Karim Mr.

Abdul Latif Biswas, Maulvi.
Abdul Majid, Mr. Syed.
Abdulla-Al-Mahmood, Mr.
Abdul Wahab Khan, Mr.
Abdur Rahman, Khan Bahadur A. F. M.
Abdur Raschid Mahmood, Mr.
Abdur Rasheed, Maulvi, Md.
Abdur Rauf, Khan Sahib Maulvi S.
Abdur Rauf, Khan Bahadur Shah.
Abdur Razzak, Maulvi.
Abdus Shaheed, Maulvi Md.
Abider Reza Chowdhury, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Abul Hashim, Maulvi.
Abul Hossain Ahmed, Mr.
Abul Quasem, Maulvi.
Aftab Ali, Mr.
Aftab Hossain Jeardar, Maulvi.
Ahmed Ali Enayetpuri, Khan Bahadur Maulana.
Ahmed Ali Mridha, Maulvi.
Ahmed Hossain, Mr.
Alfazuddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Aminullah, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Amir Ali Mia, Maulvi Md.
Anwarul Azim, Khan Bahaudr Md.
Ashrafali, Mr. M.
Aulad Hossain Khan, Maulvi.
Azhar Ali, Maulvi.
Barat Ali, Kr. Md.
Barma, Mr. Premhari.
Barma, Babu Pampajit.
Barman, Babu Upendra Nath.
Bell-Hart, Miss P. B.
Birkmyre, Sir Henry, Bart.
Blomenstock, Mr. L. M.
Brown, Mr. A. O.
Chippendale, Mr. J. W.
Clark, Mr. I. A.
Das, Mr. Anukul Chandra.
Das, Rai Sahib Kirit Bhusan.
Edhar, Mr. Upendranath.
Farhad Raza Chowdhury, Mr. M.
Farhat Bano Khanam, Begum.
Fazlul Huq, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K.
Fazlul Quadir, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Fazlur Rahman, Mr. (Dacca).
Fazlur Rahman, Mr. (Mymensingh).
French, Mr. F. H.
Golam Sagwar Hossini, Mr. Shah Syed.
Gomes, Mr. S. A.
Griffiths, Mr. C.
Gurung, Mr. Damber Singh.
Gyasuddin Ahmed Choudhury, Alhadj.
Habibullah, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur K., of Dacca.
Hafizuddin Choudhuri, Maulvi.
Hamiduddin Ahmad, Khan Sahib.
Hamilton, Mr. K. A.
Hannanuzzaman, Maulvi Md.
Hashem Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Hasina Murshed, Mrs. M. B. E.
Hatemally Jamadar, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Hawthorne, Mr. R. J.
Henery, Mr. David.
Hirtzel, Mr. H. A. F.
Idris Ahmed Mia, Maulvi.
Jahiruddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Jaidmuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Kabiruddin Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Kazem Ali Mirza, Sahibzada Kawan Jah Syed.
Kennedy, Mr. I. G.
Megregor, Mr. G. G.
Mafizuddin Ahmed, Dr.
Mafizdduin Ahmed, Maulvi.
Mafizuddin Choudhury, Maulvi.
Maguire, Mr. L. T.
Mahtab, Maharajkumar Uday Chand.
Mahtabuddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Mandal, Mr. Banku Behari.
Mandal, Mr. Birat Chandra.
Mandal., Mr. Jagat Chandra.
Manirudin Akhand, Maulvi.
Marindin, Mr. F. J.
Miles, Mr. C. W.
Millar, Mr. C.
Mohammed Ali, Khan Bahadur.
Mohsin Ali, Mr. Md.
Morgan, Mr. G., C. I. E.
Moslem Ali Mollah, Maulvi.
Mozammel Huq, Maulvi Md.
Muhammad Afzal, Khan Sahib Maulvi Syed.
Muhammad Ibrahim, Maulvi.
Muhammad Ishaque, Maulvi.
Muhammad Israil, Maulvi.
Muhammad Siddique, Khan Bahadur Dr. Syed.
Muhammad Solaiman, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Mullick, the Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behary.
Mullick, Mr. Pulin Behary.
Musharruff Hossain, the Hon'ble Nawab, Khan Bahadur.
Mustagawsai Haque, Mr. Syed.
Mustafa Ali Dewan, Maulvi.
Nandy, the Hon'ble Maharaja Srishchandra, of Cossimbazar.
Nasarullah, Nawabzada K.
Nazimuddin, the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir, K.C.I.E.
Patton, Mr. W. C.
Rahman, Khan Bahadur A. M. L.
Raikut, the Hon'ble Mr. Prasanna Deb.
Rajibuddin Tarafdar, Maulvi.
Razaur Rahman, Khan, Mr.
Roy, the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh.
Roy, Mr. Dhananjoy.
Roy, Mr. Patiram.
Sahebe Alam, Mr. Syed.
Sadaruddin Ahmed, Mr.
Safiruddin Ahmed, Haji.
Salim, Mr. S. A.
Sanaullah, Al-Haj Maulana Dr.
Sarkar, Babu Madhusudan.
Sassoon, Mr. R. M.
Serajul Islam, Mr.
Shahabuddin, Mr. Khwaja, C. B. E.
Shamsuddin Ahmed Khondkar, Mr.
Shamsul Huda, Maulana.
Sirdar, Babu Litta Munda.
Smith, Mr. H. Brabant.
Steven, Mr. J. W. R.
Suhrawardy, the Hon'ble Mr. H. S.
Tofel Ahmed Choudhury, Maulvi Haji.
Walker, Mr. W. A. M.
Warren, Mr. P. F. S.
Wordsworth, Mr. W. C.
Whitehead, Mr. R. S.
Yusuf Ali Choudhury, Mr.
Zaher Ahmed Choudhury, Mr.

NOES—82.

Abdul Wahed, Maulvi.
Abu Hossain Sarkar, Maulvi.
Abul Fazal, Mr. Md.
Acharyya Choudhury, Maharaja Sashi Kanta, of Muktagacha, Mymensingh.
Ahmed Khan, Mr. Syed.
Azimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Banerji, Mr. P.
Banerjee, Mr. Pramatha Nath.
Banerji, Mr. Satya Priya.
Banerjee, Mr. Sibnath.
Banerjee, Dr. Suresh Chandra.
Barman, Babu Shyama Prosad.
Basu, Mr. Santosh Kumar.
Biswas, Babu Lakshminarayan.
Biswas, Mr. Rasik Lal.
Biswas Mr. Surendra Nath.
Bose, Mr. Sarat Chandra.
Chakrabarty, Mr. Jatindra Nath.
Chakrabarty, Babu Narendra Narayan.
Chattopadhyay, Mr. Haripada.
Chaudhuri, Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Babu Mahim Chandra.
Das. Babu Radhanath.
Das, Mr. Monmohan.
Das Gupta, Babu Khagendra Nath.
Das Gupta, Dr. J. M.
Das Gupta, Srijut Narendra Nath.
Datta, Mr. Dhirendra Nath.
Dolui, Mr. Harendra Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Sukumar.
Dutta Gupta, Miss Mira.
Dutta Mazumdar, Mr. Niharendu.
Emdadul Haque, Kazi.
Ganguly, Mr. Pratul Chandra.
Ghose, Mr. Atul Krishna.
Giasuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Goswami, Mr. Tulsi Chandra
Gupta, Mr. Jogesh Chandra.
Gupta, Mr. J. N.
Hasan Ali Chowdhury, Mr. Syed.
Jainiuddin Hashemy, Mr. Syed.
Jalan, Mr. I. D.
Khan, Mr. Debendra Lall.
Kumar, Mr. Atul Chandra.
Kundu, Mr. Nishitha Nath.
Maiti, Mr. Nikunja Behari.
Maitra, Mr. Surendra Mohan.
Maji, Mr. Adwaita Kumar.
Majumdar, Mrs. Hemprova.
Mal, Mr. Iswar Chandra.
Mandal, Mr. Amrita Lal.
Mandal, Mr. Jogendra Nath.
Maniruzzaman Islamabadi, Maulana Md.
Maqbul Hossin, Mr.
Mookerjee, Dr. Syamaprasad.
Mukerji, Mr. Dhirendra Narayan.
Mukherjee, Mr. B.
Mukherji, Dr. Sharat Chandra.
Mullick, Srijut Ashutosh.
Nasker, Mr. Hem Chandra.
Nausher Ali, Mr. Syed.
Pain, Mr. Barada Prosanna.
Pramanik, Mr. Tarinicharan.
Ramizuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Ray Choudhury, Mr. Birendra Kishore.
Roy, Mr. Charu Chandra.
Roy, Mr. Kamalkrishna.
Roy, Mr. Kiran Sankar.
Roy, Mr. Kishori Pati.
Roy, Mr. Manmatha Nath,
Sanyal, Dr. Nalinaksha.
Sanyal, Mr. Sasanka Sekhar.
Sen, Mr. Atul Chandra.
Sen, Babu Nagendra Nath.
Sen, Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra.
Shahedali, Mr.
Shamsuddin Ahmed, Mr. M.
Sinha, Srijut Manindra Bhusan.
Sur, Mr. Harendra Kumar.
Thakur, Mr. Pramatha Ranjan.
Waliur Rahman, Maulvi.
Zaman, Mr. A. M. A.

(Before the result of the Division was announced.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I am perfectly certain that after I announce the result of the Division there will be such a shouting that you will not be able to hear what I have to say after this. So I would say it now that the House will meet to-morrow at 4-45 p.m.

Unfortunately, a matter has arisen to which I want to refer. Although others may sometimes lose their heads I, as Speaker, have got to keep my head cool. I do not like to refer to it in detail now at this late hour and in this atmosphere, but I will refer to it as the first thing to-morrow when we meet.

The Ayes being 142 and Noes 82 the resolution was carried.

Adjournment.

It being 7-30 p.m.—

The House was adjourned till 4-45 p.m. on Tuesday, the 19th December, 1939, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 19th December, 1939, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 223 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Grant-in-aid to high schools in Malda district.

*80. **Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(i) the percentage of literate people in the district of Malda;

(ii) the number of high schools in the district; and

(iii) how many of them are aided by the Government?

(b) Is it a fact that the people of the district are backward in education?

(c) If so, are the Government considering the desirability of granting Government aid to all high English schools specially to those of more than 10 years' standing?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq): (a) (i) 3·8 per cent

(ii) Eleven (including one Government high school).

(iii) Seven (excluding the Government high school)

(b) Yes.

(c) The cases of the three unaided high schools in the district will be considered when additional funds are available.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: With reference to answer (c), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why the case of three high schools only should be considered and not four?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Out of the four one is a Government High School.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with reference to his answer (*a*) (*i*) where he said that only 3·8 per cent. of the people of Malda are literate and also that the people of the district are backward in education, whether Government propose to spend more money than the Rs. 5 lakhs already granted every year for the education of the backward classes?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: That is more or less a question of financing schemes, and I can ask the Inspector of Schools of the Division to take note of the existing state of things and the honourable member's question will be sent to him for report.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government have got a scheme for spreading education among the backward classes?

Mr. SPEAKER: How does "backward classes" arise?

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: It arises because of the answer that people in the Malda district are backward in education.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government have got any scheme for spreading education among the backward classes?

Mr. SPEAKER: The question of "backward classes" does not arise.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government have got any scheme for the spread of primary education among the people of the district where literacy is so small?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: As regards primary schools, we are proceeding on the lines of the Primary Education Act, and we expect that primary education will be introduced on the lines of the Act in the course of a year's time in Malda. As regards higher education, we will try to finance the schools as they spring up and as they are recommended. As regards the existing schools, we are trying to help those that are not getting help. More than that at the present moment I am not able to say anything.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দয়া করে বোলবেন কি তিনি তাঁর (c) উত্তরে যে বোলেছেন—the cases of these unaided schools in the district will be considered when additional funds are available—এই funds available করবার জন্য তিনি কি বন্দোবস্ত করেছেন ?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I am asking for more funds for aiding high schools and the honourable member will find a budget provision made in this respect.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in view of the small number of schools in the Malda district and in view of backwardness in education there, the case of Malda district would be considered first when the funds are available?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: The number of high schools does not really indicate the amount of literacy. As a matter of fact special institutions are springing up, e.g., Madrassahs, High Madrassahs, and Middle English Schools are being established to remove illiteracy. As I have said, I am asking for more money. As soon as money is voted, steps will be taken to give aid to educational institutions.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think Questions Nos. 81 and 83 can be taken together.

(The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan read out the answers to questions Nos. 81 and 83.)

Appointments made in connection with Jute Registration work.

***81. Mr. MONOMOHAN DAS:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to state the total number of officers in the Jute Registration Department, such as the Chief Inspectors, inspectors, assistant inspectors, area section officers, area copyists, clerks, primary recorders and peons appointed in Bengal; the number of appointments made to each of these posts from the (*i*) Caste Hindus, (*ii*) Scheduled Castes, and (*iii*) Muhammadans, district by district?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in case of these appointments the system of service ratio was observed?

(c) If the answer to (b) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(i) the total number of (1) primary recorders, (2) area copyists, and (3) clerks, appointed in the district of Mymensingh; and

(ii) the number of those taken from the (1) Caste Hindus, (2) Scheduled Castes, and (3) Muhammadans?

(d) If the number of appointments made from the Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes is found to be less than what is required by the service ratio, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason therefor?

(e) If the appointments in Mymensingh have been made on the local population basis, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the policy has been observed everywhere in Bengal?

MINISTER in charge of the AGRICULTURE and PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENTS (the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan): (a) A statement in three parts is placed on the Library table

(b) Yes in respect of all new appointments as far as suitable candidates belonging to each community have been available.

(c) Part II of the statement referred to in (a) above furnishes the information.

(d) I presume that this part of the question does not refer to Mymensingh district only. As stated above the prescribed communal ratio has been observed, as far as possible, in respect of new appointments. In view of the urgency and complicated nature of the work it has been necessary to appoint 17 Settlement Kanungos and 9 trained officers of the Indian Central Jute Committee as Chief Inspectors in respect of which the strict observance of the prescribed ratio has not been possible. It has not also been possible to make the full quota of Scheduled Caste appointments according to the prescribed ratio particularly in higher ranks on account of want of suitable candidates belonging to that community though posts have been reserved for them. Further, it has not been possible to follow the ratio in respect of different offices or districts individually In the Mymensingh district, for example, the Muslim population predominates and the number of suitable Muslim candidates far exceeded those of other communities. This explains the deficiency in the proportions of Caste Hindus appointed in that district which has however been set off by appointing more than the prescribed ratio of Caste Hindus in other districts.

(e) The population factor has been taken into account but not meticulously followed in each district.

Appointment of Muslims as Sub-Registrars.

*82. **Khan Sahib HATEMALLY JAMADAR:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education (Registration) Department be pleased to state what is the total number of Sub-Registrars so far appointed from amongst the Muslims from the 1st of April, 1937, with their names, father's names and addresses?

(b) How many of them came from the—

(i) non-agricultural class of Muslims;

(ii) agricultural class of Muslims;

(iii) zamindar families; and

(iv) relatives of the Government officers?

(c) Whether the recruitments from amongst the agricultural class of Muslims were made on the basis of percentage of their population?

(d) If the answer to (c) be in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps, if any, he proposes to take to secure that end?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ. (a) A statement is laid on the table

(b) No information on these heads is available in this department and I regret that I have not been able to obtain the information in time

(c) and (d) Do not arise

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (a) of starred question No. 82.

	Name.	Name of the father	Address.
1.	Maulvi Mosahibuddin Ahmed	Khan Bahadur Mahtab-uddin, M.L.A.	Dinajpur
2.	Maulvi Khondkar Abdul Khaliq, B.A.	Khandkar Md. Ismail Talukdar.	Faridpur
3.	Maulvi Sarwal Kamal, B.A. ..	Maulvi Md. Aktar Kamal	Post-office Ukhia, Chittagong.
4.	Maulvi Abdur Jabbar, B.A. ..	Maulvi Maksud Ali Sarkar.	Village Charlabangola, post-office Bhagabangola, Murshidabad.
5.	Maulvi Muhammad Wais, B.A.	Maulvi Jinatullah Mallick	Village Benai, post-office Khaput, Midnapore.
6.	Maulv A. Q. Shamsuddin Md. Mahmud.	Late Khan Sahib Shahabuddin Md. Mahmud	Feni, Noakhali.

	Name.	Name of the father.	Address.
7.	Maulvi Enamul Moula ..	Maulvi Mozammel Haque.	Murshidabad.
8.	Maulvi Badiuzzaman Choudhuri, B.A.	Maulvi Chandmia Choudhuri.	Noakhali.
9.	Maulvi Selahuddin Ahmed Choudhuri.	Late Maulvi Serajuddin Ahmed Choudhuri.	Kartickpur, Faridpur.
10.	Maulvi A. Q. Mokarramul Basit, B.A.	Late Khan Bahadur Abu Ahmed Abdul Basit.	13, Becharams Dewry, Dacca.
11.	Maulvi Fakhrul Alam Chaudhuri, B.A.	Maulvi Khorshed Alam Chaudhuri.	Ulania, Bakarganj.
12.	Maulvi Shaikh Nurul Haq, B.A.	Maulvi Abdul Hamid ..	Hooghly.
13.	Maulvi Abu Jafar Muhammad Abdul Baset Ansary.	Maulvi Abdul Wahed ..	Jamalpur, Mymensingh.
14.	Maulvi Shamsul Islam Muhamad Abdul Karim Choudhuri, B.A.	Maulvi Fazlul Karim Choudhuri.	Ulania, Bakarganj.
15.	Maulvi Khandkar Rezaul Haque, B.A.	Late Khandkar Ali Mohsin.	Bhatpore, Murshidabad.
16.	Maulvi Muzaffaruddin Ahmed, B.A.	Maulvi Saleh Ahmed ..	C/o Maulvi Saleh Ahmed D. S. R. Retired, Anderkilla, Chittagong.
17.	Maulvi Md. Abdul Hamid, B.A.	Maulvi Rafiquddin Ahmed.	Village Nurpur, post-office Pabna, Pabna.
18.	Maulvi Safi Muhammad Abdul Azim, B.A.	Maulana Hafiz Alhadj Sufi Muhamad Abdul Alim.	Village Pindira, post-office Bara Shyambazar, Burdwan.
19.	Maulvi S. M. Sadiqur Rahman, B.A.	Khan Sahib Maulvi Shah Abdul Manan.	Village Laskardia, post-office Talma, Faridpur.
20.	Maulvi Ghani Ahmad Chaudhury.	Late Maulvi Kader Baksh Choudhury.	Village West Allahabad post-office Olirhat, Chittagong.
21.	Maulvi Md. Nazmul Haq Chaudhury, B.A.	Maulvi Nehaluddin Choudhury.	Dinajpur.
22.	Maulvi Abu Md. Fazlul Bari	Khan Bahadur Md. Abdul Khaliq.	Calcutta.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় যে statement টেবিলের উপর দিয়েছেন তাতে ১নং, ১৩নং, ২২নং এবং ২০নং এর candidateরা under-graduate কিনা মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ কোরে জানাবেন কি ?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, so far as my memory goes, the Muhammadans who have been appointed are all graduates except, I remember, in one case; otherwise they are all B.As., B.Scs., or M.As.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে জানাবেন কি এই যে under-graduate candidateদের appoint করা হয়েছে, সে কি উপযুক্ত graduate candidate না পাওয়ার দরুণ, না কোন influential লোককে সন্তুষ্ট করবার জন্য ?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: In one or two cases only was an under-graduate appointed. They were appointed, because they got the Divisional nomination.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: একটা না দুটা ?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: May be two, but I am not sure.

Appointments made in connection with Jute Registration work.

*83. **Maulvi Md. MOZAMMEL HUQ:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing—

(*i*) how many appointments as (1) Chief Inspectors, (2) inspectors, (3) assistant inspectors, (4) primary recorders (investigators), (5) area copyists, (6) superintendents, (7) clerks, typists and accountants in district offices, (8) clerks, typists and accountants in the Head Office and Alipore, and (9) menials and other ratings not included in the above categories have been made in connection with the Jute Registration works recently undertaken by Government;

(*ii*) how many of them are (1) Muslims, (2) Caste Hindus, (3) Scheduled Castes, (4) Indian Christians, (5) Anglo-Indians, and (6) other communities;

(*iii*) what is the scale of pay and allowance of each class of appointments; and

(*iv*) the total amount that has been drawn by the members of each community mentioned in (*ii*) on account of pay and allowance in the first month of their appointment?

(*b*) Has the question of fixation of percentage (*i.e.*, 50 per cent. for Muslims, 15 per cent. for Scheduled Castes and 35 per cent. for other communities) for new recruitments in the Public Services been observed in the above appointments?

(*c*) If not, why not?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*) (*i*) and (*ii*) A statement in three parts is placed on the Library table.

(*iii*) A statement is placed on the table.

(*iv*) The figures are not readily available. The collection of these figures from the mufassal offices spread throughout the province and their tabulation will entail an amount of labour and time which the staff cannot undertake along with their normal work which has to be finished within a limited period of time if the scheme is to succeed.

(*b*) and (*c*) In order to ensure the efficiency and expedition of the work which has to be done within a fixed period and much of which is of a technical nature, it has been necessary to appoint 17 Settlement Kanungos and nine trained officers of the Indian Central Jute Committee as Chief Inspectors in respect of which the strict observance of the communal ratio has not been possible. The ratio has however been observed in respect of all the new appointments except that it has not yet been possible to make the full quota of Scheduled Caste appointments for want of suitable candidates belonging to that community though posts have been reserved for them strictly according to the prescribed ratio. It has also not been possible to observe the ratio in respect of clerical appointments in individual offices particularly in the office of the Chief Controller by reason of having to take in a number of trained hands from the Jute Census Office of the Indian Central Jute Committee in order to ensure speed and efficiency of the work, but taking all clerical appointments in the various offices in the province the ratio has been fully observed.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (a) (iii) of starred question No. 83.

CHIEF INSPECTORS.—(*a*) When the posts are held by Settlement Kanungos—grade pay in the Settlement Department (generally Rs. 230—40 per month).

(*b*) When the posts are held by junior Kanungos—grade pay *plus* a special pay of Rs. 25 per month.

(*c*) When the posts are held by outsiders—Rs. 110—150 per month.

INSPECTORS.—(*a*) When the posts are held by junior Kanungos—grade pay of Rs. 75 *plus* a special pay of Rs. 25 per month.

(*b*) When the posts are held by outsiders—Rs. 70—80 per month.

ASSISTANT INSPECTORS.—Rs. 50—60 per month.

AREA SECTION OFFICERS.—Rs. 40—75 per month.

SPECIAL SURVEYORS.—Rs. 40—50 per month.

CHECKERS AND COPYISTS.—Rs. 25—40 per month.

PRIMARY RECORDERS.—Rs. 25—40 per month.

PEONS.—Rs. 12—15 per month.

Mr. MONMOHAN DAS: With reference to answer (*d*) of question No. *81 where he said that it has not also been possible to make the full quota of Scheduled Caste appointments according to the prescribed ratio particularly in higher ranks on account of want of suitable candidates belonging to that community, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that suitable candidates from the Scheduled Castes are available, but their cases have been ignored?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I am not aware of that.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Has the attention of the Hon'ble Minister been drawn to the fact that as far as the value of the posts was concerned, the posts that have been given to the Hindus far exceeded the value of those given to the Moslems?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: That has not been calculated, but obviously as the number of Hindus appointed in the grade of Chief Inspectors and Inspectors is higher than that of the prescribed ratio, it is not unlikely that in certain categories the total pay drawn by Hindu officers is larger than what they should have done, if the prescribed limit had been observed.

Establishment of an improved type of guru-training school at Kishoreganj.

*84. **Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that the Government decided to establish an improved type of *guru*-training school with an accommodation for the training of forty *gurus* at Kishoreganj some time back; and

(*ii*) that an officer was sent to Kishoreganj for securing a suitable building for the purpose?

(*b*) Do the Government contemplate to push up that scheme in view of the fact that suitable Government buildings may now be available for the purpose?

(*c*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the rush of candidates at the *guru*-training test held at Kishoreganj even before the introduction of Free Primary Education Scheme in the district?

(*d*) If so, are the Government considering the desirability of opening of the improved type of *guru*-training school at Kishoreganj to meet demands of the *gurus* of the subdivision?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) There was such a proposal, but it was dropped.

(*b*) and (*d*) I will examine the question again.

(*c*) Yes.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason why the scheme was dropped?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, it was dropped on the basis of a departmental recommendation, but as soon as the matter was brought to my notice by the honourable member, I had the question re-examined, and we are taking steps to start Guru-training Schools in Madrassas.

Total amount of money advanced to ex-detenus and spent in Detenu Training Schemes.

***85. Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Industries Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing for the years 1937-38, 1938-39 and up to 30th September, 1939-40—

(*i*) the total amount of money advanced or spent on account of—

(1) each of the Detenu Training Schemes, and

(2) advances to ex-detenus;

(*ii*) the names of the detenus trained and the subject of training of each;

(*iii*) the names of the recipients of advances, the amount that each has received; and

(*iv*) the purpose for which such advances were granted in each case?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether the advances have been made in each case against proper documents;

(*ii*) whether the sums of money stated to have been advanced were actually handed over to the respective recipients;

(*iii*) whether the accounts of the Detenu Training Schemes and of the advances to ex-detenus were audited duly; and

(*iv*) if so, who conducted the audit?

MINISTER in charge of the INDUSTRIES and LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (the Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja Habibullah Bahadur, of Dacca): (*a*) (*i*) (1) There is only one such scheme now properly called the "Detenu Setting-up Scheme" the expenditure on which has been as follows:—

		Rs.	a.	p.
1937-38	...	1,33,497	9	2
1938-39	...	52,192	8	6
1939-40 (up to 30-9-39)	.	12,382	2	3

(2) A statement "A" is laid on the Library table.

(*ii*) A statement "B" is laid on the Library table.

(*iii*) The names of the recipients of loans are given in the statement "B" referred to above and the rates at which each ex-detenu has received the loan are given below:—

Pottery at Rs. 2,760 each.

Umbrella at Rs. 1,690 each.

Brass at Rs. 1,618-12 each.

Cutlery at Rs. 1,712-8 each.

Agriculture at Rs. 1,562-8 each

(*iv*) The loans were granted to set up in business the released detenus trained in the different training camps.

(*b*) (*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) The money was advanced to each group of ex-detenus under each section by opening with it an account in a bank in the name of the group.

(*iii*) and (*iv*) The accounts of the factories under the Scheme are being audited by Messrs. Ray and Ray, Chartered Accountants.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*b*)(*ii*) that "the money was advanced to each group of ex-detenus under each section by opening with it an account in a Bank", may I enquire who operated the account with the Bank?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I cannot say exactly.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is it a fact that the Bank account was operated by the Director of Industries?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I am not aware of it.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that not a single rupee was allowed to be handled by the detenus themselves?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: Sir, the honourable member himself is giving information. I have not heard of it before.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any portion of the money advanced to the detenus for particular works, namely, pottery, was diverted to any other kind of work, namely, agriculture or *vice versa*?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I am not aware of that fact, Sir.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that in certain instances the detenus have been asked to sign a document for a particular advance without having the advance actually given over to the men concerned?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that in certain instances the detenus have been asked to sign a document to enable the department to spend money for some other work?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: Sir, I am not aware of the fact; and if any such fact is proved, I shall certainly take steps.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Thanks. With reference to answers (*b*) (*iii*) and (*iv*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the auditing by Messrs. Ray & Ray, Chartered Accountants, was arranged for and when has the auditing been actually undertaken?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: Sir, may I explain the position? This scheme was not one of the schemes which I had drawn up at all, and it has only come to me in April, 1939, and whatever might have happened in regard to audit by Chartered Accountants and all that, was not while I was in charge of this department.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: But certainly the files were there. My question was whether the accounts *were* audited—past tense—and, if so, who conducted the audit. Evidently it is a three-year old account. The reply is that "the accounts are being audited". My question now is when the arrangement for audit was made, whether it was after my question was received or whether there was any previous arrangement?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: My answer is very clear, Sir, namely, "The accounts are being audited". "Being audited" does not mean that the auditing began just now.

Khan Bahadur SHAH ABDUR RAUF: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the privileges that have been extended to detenus and ex-detenus have also been given to the unemployed of this country?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I would like to state that this scheme was specially drawn up by the old Government in regard to detenus only and as this thing has come to me only in April last, I have not been able to consider it fully. But as far as I am aware, at that time it was intended only for detenus and not for unemployed of any kind. Moreover it was then not under the Industries Department, but under the Home Department.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how much of the loans advanced has been recovered?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: There is no question of recovery.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Yes, it does. Is it irrecoverable?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: Certain repayments have been made, but I want notice to give the details.

Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD: It appears from the answer that above Rs. 1,98,072 and odd annas have been advanced as loan to the ex-detenus. Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how much money is in stock, in materials and other things; if not, whether the money has been wasted altogether?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I could not say that, Sir.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the number of ex-detenus actually utilising the advances, and the number of those who are not ex-detenus but are employed in the respective pottery works, umbrella works, brass factory, cutlery works, etc., for which advance has been given to the detenus; I want the proportionate number of the two sections, viz., ex-detenus and others?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: To give the number I do require notice, but this much I can say that there were a certain number of persons who were not ex-detenus.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: It is admitted that the money was never given to the detenus, and no document was executed. The money was kept in a bank and the accounts of the Bank were operated on by the Director himself. In those supposed factories where detenus were to get their factory training and subsequently to start business, I wanted to know, how many detenus and how many non-detenus were employed?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I want notice.

Hostel accommodation for students of secondary schools and madrasahs in river districts like Bakarganj.

***86. Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department aware of the difficulties caused to the pupils (boys and girls) of secondary schools and madrasahs (new scheme and old scheme) of the river districts like Bakarganj for want of hostel accommodation?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action, if any, he proposes to take in the matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) I am considering a provincial scheme for additional hostel accommodation.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state by what time that scheme is likely to materialise?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: We are trying to spread it over 5 years so as to provide every school, either Government or aided, with a boarding house.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether special considerations will be made for river districts where communications are not easy?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I have not considered the question from that point of view, but I will.

Mr. PRAMATHA RANJAN THAKUR: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in the provincial scheme the needs of all the communities including the Scheduled Castes will be taken into consideration?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Yes; all the communities.

Maynaguri Agricultural Farm in the district of Jalpaiguri.

*87. **Babu KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) total expenditure incurred in the last two financial years for the maintenance of an agricultural farm at Maynaguri in the district of Jalpaiguri;

(*b*) the nature of works done during the period by the District Agricultural Officers and the staff;

(*c*) whether any improved seeds, implements and manures have been distributed by this farm;

(*d*) the name and quantity of the seed, implements and manures distributed; and

(*e*) whether these have been distributed free?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*) 1937-38, Rs. 3,979-8-5; and 1938-39, Rs. 4,215-12.

(*b*) The District Agricultural Officer did farm work as well as demonstration and propaganda in the district including supervision of Union Board and Khas Mahal Farms. The demonstrators were engaged in farm work only.

(*c*) Yes.

(*d*) and (*e*) A statement is laid on the table.

Statement referred to in the reply to clauses (d) and (e) of starred question No. 87.

	Farm grown seeds and cuttings distributed from Maynaguri Farm during—	
	1937-38. Mds. Srs. Chs.	1938-39. Mds. Srs. Chs.
(*d*)—		
Dharial Aus paddy ..	3 7 2	7 27 8
Kataktara Aus paddy ..	0 26 8	0 37 8
P × S (8) Aus paddy ..	0 9 0	0 39 8
Surjamukhi Aus paddy ..	0 6 0	0 25 0
Kumari Aus paddy ..	0 6 0	1 11 0
Dhali Aus paddy ..	..	0 37 8
Indrasail Aman ..	4 5 0	71 20 0
Dudsar Aman ..	25 20 0	59 27 0
Bhasamanik Aman ..	21 0 0	3 31 0
Jhingasail Aman ..	3 0 0	3 34 0
Latisail Aman ..	20 3 0	4 18 0
Nagra Aman ..	..	4 29 8
Agandali Aman ..	..	4 4 0
Rai No. 5 ..	..	0 20 0
Linseed ..	0 11 0	..
Lentil ..	0 8 0	1 8 8
Matihari tobacco seeds ..	21 tolas	10½ tolas
Biri tobacco seeds ..	..	2 ,,
Darjeeling potato ..	..	23 23 0
Paddy seedlings ..	575 bundles	..
Sugarcane cuttings ..	95,000	..
Napier grass cuttings ..	99,000	107,000

	Seeds, manures, etc., distributed free from the Maynaguri Farm during—	
	1937-38. Mds. Srs. Chs.	1938-39. Mds. Srs. Chs.
(*e*)—		
Aus paddy	..	52 20 0
Aman paddy	..	32 10 0
Maize	..	4 23 0
Jute seeds	..	0 3 12
Napier grass cuttings	19,000	43,000
Mustard	0 9 0	1 12 0
Linseed	..	0 12 0
Peas	..	4 4 0

	Seeds, manures, etc., distributed free from the Maynaguri Farm during—	
	1937-38. Mds. Srs. Chs.	1938-39. Mds. Srs. Chs.
Wheat	0 24 0	4 35 0
Lentil	0 8 0	..
Tobacco seeds	12 tolas	10½ tolas
Potato seeds	..	10 20 0
Cowpea	..	3 30 0
English vegetables	2¾ ozs.	787 pkts.
Nicifos	..	35 20 0
Castercake	..	30 20 0
Bonemeal	2 0 0	..
Hand hoes	..	15 Nos.
Improved ploughs	..	12 ,,

Babu KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: With reference to answer (*a*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the amount include the expenditure from local Khas Mahal Fund?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I do not know; I want notice.

Remission of revenues in Ghatal circuit embankment area.

*88. **Mr. HARENDRA NATH DOLUI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether he is aware that there has been failure of crops in the Ghatal circuit embankment owing to floods for the last 20 years; and

(*ii*) whether he has received a petition from the inhabitants of the embankment area for remission of revenues?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, what steps, if any, have the Government taken or do they intend to take in the matter?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) (*i*) Yes, in certain years the *aman* crop was damaged by floods, but in greater part of the affected area it was possible to re-transplant immediately after *rabi* crops and *boro* paddy are grown in parts of the Ghatal circuit and the damage thereto by floods was consequently slight.

(*ii*) and (*b*) A petition was received on the 16th September, 1939, from Babu Radhikalal Goswami and others, proprietors of the Estate Tappa Barada, Tauzi No. 163, Separate Account No. 1, for suspension of land revenue, etc., for six *kists*. In this case sale of the estate for default of the last June *kist* was stayed and time allowed for payment of revenue till 9th January, 1940.

Number of cases settled by Debt Settlement Boards in Mymensingh.

*89. **Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness Department be pleased to state the total number of cases in which permission of the Collector of Mymensingh was asked by the Debt Settlement Boards of the district for adjudicating the applicants as agriculturist debtors up to the 30th October, 1939, under the new rules?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the number of cases—

(*i*) wherein permission has been withheld; and

(*ii*) the reasons for such refusal?

MINISTER in charge of the CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT and RURAL INDEBTEDNESS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick): (*a*) Forty-two.

(*b*) (*i*) Twenty-eight.

(*ii*) The Collector was satisfied that the debtors were not *bona fide* agriculturists.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with regard to answer (*b*) (*ii*) whether the Collector gave his decision *ex-parte* or gave the applicants any chance before deciding the cases?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: Under the rules the Collector is given discretion in this matter of coming to his conclusion on the fact appearing in the case, but what exact method was followed in this case I am not in a position to say.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the rejection of so many applications is causing great hardship to the applicants concerned?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. PRAMATHA RANJAN THAKUR: With reference to (*b*) (*ii*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the actual procedure followed by the Collector to satisfy himself that those debtors were not *bona fide* agriculturists?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Relief measures in flood-affected areas on the Gumti in Tippera.

*90. **Mr. MAQBUL HOSAIN:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department aware of the fact that the people of the Gumti flood-affected area in the district of Tippera have suffered much owing to the destruction of crops?

(*b*) Have the Government granted any help in the shape of (*i*) loan and (*ii*) gratuitous relief to the people?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the amount separately?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: (*a*) and (*b*) Yes.

(*c*) Agricultural loans Rs. 14,384.

Gratuitous relief Rs. 697.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us the area affected by the flood?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: I ask for notice.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us the population of the affected area?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: I want notice.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to give us an estimate in round figures of the loss of crops?

Mr. SPEAKER: You know the answer.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: I have no information on this point.

Election to Chatal and Jhargram Local Boards and Midnapore District Board.

*91. **Mr. HARENDRA NATH DOLUI:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state what steps the Government have taken for re-election of the members of—

(*a*) Ghatal Local Board;

(*b*) Jhargram Local Board; and

(*c*) Midnapore District Board?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: (*a*) Election has already been held.

(*b*) and (*c*) I would refer the hon'ble member to starred question No. 279 by Mr. P. Banerji at the last session of the Assembly. The District Board cannot be reconstituted until the reconstitution of all the Local Boards in the district is complete. The election of the Jhargram Local Board could not be held until rule 23 of the Election Rules was amended. The rule has now been amended and the District Magistrate has been asked to take necessary steps for holding election to the Jhargram Local Board.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the election of some of these local boards mentioned in the question were completed and when the new rule (rule 23) has been amended? What is the difference of time between the two?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I cannot say off-hand; I want notice.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITI: With reference to answer (*a*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the names of the persons elected in the Jhargram Local Board have been published in the *Calcutta Gazette*?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: As far as I am aware, the District Magistrate has taken necessary steps. I am not aware whether the election has been held or not.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: With reference to the last part of the answer, viz., the rule has now been amended and the District Magistrate has been asked to take necessary steps for holding election to the

Jhargram Local Board, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state on what date the District Magistrate has been asked to hold the Jhargram election?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I cannot say off-hand.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps the District Magistrate has taken in connection with the holding of the election?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: As far as I am aware as soon as he received orders from Government, he has taken all necessary steps for holding the election.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: With reference to the answer that the District Board cannot be reconstituted until the reconstitution of all the local boards in the district is complete, will the Hon'ble Minister tell us when the last elections of some of the subdivisions in the district were held?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: Sadar Local Board—20th February, 1939, Tamluk—21st February, 1939, Contai—7th January, 1939, and Ghatal—9th January, 1939.

Extension of the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act, 1930, to Municipal areas.

*92. **Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department aware that the Municipal areas have been excluded from the operation of the Bengal (Rural) Free Primary Education Act, 1930?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he proposes to take for the extension of the Act to the Municipal areas?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) The amendment of the Act to secure such extension is under my consideration.

Mr. PRAMATHA RANJAN THAKUR: In view of answer (*b*), are we to understand that from this act the urban areas which were excluded are going to be included and, if so, why?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any draft Bill has been prepared with regard to answer (*b*)?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: No directions have yet been given for the drafting of the Bill. Financial questions and various other matters have got to be considered and as soon as all these are settled the Bill will be drafted.

Prevention of adulteration of food articles.

*93. **Maulvi SERAJUL ISLAM:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health Department aware—

(*i*) that in spite of Government's earnest efforts the adulteration of food articles has not stopped; and

(*ii*) that diseases are rapidly spreading amongst the people of rural areas?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps, if any, he proposes to take in the matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*) (*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) There has been some increase in mortality in the province owing to various diseases.

(*b*) I propose shortly to introduce a measure for amending the Food Adulteration Act with a view to securing more effective control by widening the scope of the Act, introducing more stringent measures against offenders and giving larger powers to the local authorities and Government.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether under the present Food Adulteration Act, adulteration of ghee and oil is punishable? If so, how is it that in the rural areas adulteration of ghee and oil is not being stopped?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Khan Bahadur MD. ANWARUL AZIM: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister kindly state if he will take into consideration vendors and the source in framing the measures?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I cannot answer that question specifically just now.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS : এই প্রশ্নের clause (*b*)র উত্তরে মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বোলেছেন,—তিনি একটি amending Act কোর্ত্তে যাচ্ছেন। এই amendment Actএ তিনি কি কি provision কোর্ত্তে যাচ্ছেন,—এবং next sessionএ সেটা আসবে কি না মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দয়া কোরে জানাবেন কি ?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I have indicated in brief the lines on which the Bill is being framed, and I hope it will be introduced in the next session.

Figures of Hindu, Muhammadan and Buddhist population in the Province.

***94. Khan Bahadur MD. ANWARUL AZIM:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether the present figures of Hindu, Muhammadan and Buddhist population, union by union, in all districts of Bengal is now available; and

(*b*) whether such figures union-wise are available in the district of Chittagong?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: (*a*) No.

(*b*) Yes.

Khan Bahadur MD. ANWARUL AZIM: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister kindly tell the House what has been the increase of percentage of all those people mentioned in question (*a*)?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: Figures are not available.

Mr. SPEAKER: If figures are not available how can that be answered. You must put supplementary question which arises out of the answer.

Khan Bahadur MD. ANWARUL AZIM: Mr. Speaker, that is not my fault. The Hon'ble Minister says in answer (*b*) "Yes". My question is that if there is increase in the population of these people union by union what has been the percentage of increase.

Mr. SPEAKER: Nawab Bahadur, you say in your answer (*a*) that figures are not available union by union, but in your answer (*b*) you say that in respect of the district of Chittagong these are available union by union. If that is so, what has been the percentage of population in different unions of that district?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: If notice is given, I am prepared to look into this and I may place the answer on the Library table.

Mr. SPEAKER: The House will now adjourn for prayer and the questions that remain unfinished will be taken up after the adjournment.

The House at this stage adjourned for 15 minutes.

(*After adjournment.*)

Preventive measures against flood in the Gumti in Tippera.

*95. **Mr. MAQBUL HOSAIN:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department be pleased to state whether any plan has been undertaken to stop the annual flood of the river Gumti in the district of Tippera?

(*b*) If so, since how many years?

(*c*) Have the Government spent any money for the plan, if so, how much?

(*d*) Is the plan open for public inspection?

(*e*) Have the people of the flood-affected area submitted petitions to the Government on the subject?

(*f*) If the answer to (*e*) is in the affirmative, what steps have the Government taken in the matter?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMUNICATIONS and WORKS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Maharaja Srischandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar): (*a*) to (*f*) I recently received a representation on this subject. The problem of preventing damage to crops and other property, from flooding in the river Gumti has engaged the attention of Government and

their advisers for many years, and various proposals have been considered from time to time. Recently an expensive scheme for the construction of escape channels was examined by me, but I came to the conclusion that while the project might afford relief in some areas, there was a danger that others would be exposed to flooding. I shall be glad to show the honourable member at my office the plans and estimates submitted to me in connection with the scheme. It has been suggested that a flood moderating reservoir should be constructed in the upper reaches of the river, but the planning of such a scheme and the execution of it, if found financially feasible, would take a very long time. As the honourable member is no doubt aware, there are embankments on both sides of the river and Government have for some years deemed themselves responsible for maintaining the greater portion of these. I am now considering whether the remaining portion should be maintained or abandoned, but, before coming to a decision I propose to obtain the views of members of both Houses of the Legislature representing the area concerned at a conference to be held on the 20th of this month.

Augmentation of the present grant to Mymensingh District School Board.

*96. **Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware—

(*i*) that the District School Board, Mymensingh, has not sufficient fund; and

(*ii*) that for want of fund the minimum number of schools required to give effect to the Free Primary Education Scheme have not yet been started in the district?

(*b*) If so, by what amount, the Hon'ble Minister proposes to augment the present grant of the Mymensingh District School Board?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) The matter is still under consideration.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: টাকার অভাবে স্কুলগুলির ভয়ানক ক্ষতি হোচ্ছে —মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বোলেছেন তিনি এ সম্বন্ধে consider কোচ্ছেন। এ consideration কতদিনে শেষ হবে ?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, the position regarding these grants from provincial revenues is this. Under the Act the cess is realised but the realised amount is not sufficient for meeting the

expenses. Supplementary amounts have got to be given from Government. Since the Act was enforced in 1938 there have been various considerations which have prompted Government to suspend in many places the realisation of cess. That means that a great burden has been thrown on the provincial revenues. Five lakhs were advanced last year and we are going to ask this Assembly to grant us ten lakhs more. That is a matter under consideration. We are going to make a provision in the budget. The matter will be before the House and as soon as the votes will be given the money will be distributed.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in allotting money there will be any distinction made between a district where cess has been levied and a district where a School Board has been established but no cess levied?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: It is very difficult to lay down a general rule, but ordinarily places where cess has been levied will have preference.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that most densely populated and extremely poor Scheduled Caste areas in the districts such as the village of Shapur Rishis are left out without any provision of funds for the education of their children?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: It is a matter for the District School Board, and the honourable member's observations will be forwarded to the District School Board concerned.

Provision for religious education for Hindu boys reading in maktabs.

*97. **Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI:** (*a*) With reference to the answer given on the 23rd March last to the supplementary questions arising out of unstarred question No. 88, will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state what steps have been or are being taken by the district school boards in districts where they have come to exist, to provide for schools suited to the needs of Hindu boys that are now reading in *maktabs* or to so arrange matter as to provide for the religious requirements of the Hindu boys in areas where for want of such primary schools Hindu students have to read in *maktabs*?

(*b*) If no steps have as yet been taken by the district school boards, whether the Hon'ble Minister is considering the advisability of drawing the attention of district school boards to this matter?

(c) Is the Hon'ble Minister also considering the desirability of drawing attention of the authorities responsible for conducting primary education in the districts, where the district school board has not yet been set up, to immediate necessity of establishing general primary schools in areas where for want of such schools Hindu students have to read in *maktabs*?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (a) In all recognised primary schools under the school board a uniform syllabus, which provides for the religious instruction of both Hindus and Muslims, will be followed. The question of separate arrangements to suit the requirements of Hindu boys does not therefore arise.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) Government contemplate the establishment of school boards in every district in the near future.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Although the answer to the question does not meet all the points raised, I do not want to pursue the question further as my proposal has been accepted by the Government.

Training classes for teachers of primary schools in Dacca Division.

*98. **Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ:** (a) Does the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department contemplate a scheme for training of the *gurus* of the free primary schools for teaching the children of the country in a befitting manner?

(b) If so, does that scheme contemplate starting *guru*-training classes in some high schools?

(c) If so—

(i) in how many high schools are such classes to be opened in the—

(1) Dacca Division, and

(2) Dacca Range;

(ii) what are the names of such high schools—

(1) in the subdivision of Tangail, and

(2) in other subdivisions of the district of Mymensingh; and

(iii) the period of training of such classes?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) and (*b*) Yes.

(*c*) (*i*) Fifteen.

(*ii*) (1) Karatia High English School and Suti High English School.

(2) Nandina, Gaffargaon, Muktagacha and Iswarganj High English Schools in Sadar subdivision; Dewanganj High English School in Jamalpur subdivision; Kendua and Netrokona High English Schools in Netrokona subdivision; Bajitpur High English School in Kishoreganj subdivision.

(*iii*) One year.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether that scheme contemplates of starting training classes in the high schools of the Faridpur district?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I cannot give an answer off-hand. I must have notice.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister please consider the desirability of having training classes in the high schools of the Faridpur district?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: The desirability will certainly be considered.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: With reference to answer (2), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why only one high school has been selected from the Kishoreganj subdivision and why in other subdivisions more than one school selected?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I cannot answer the question. It is more or less done by local departmental officers.

Junior madrasahs and middle English schools in Bakarganj.

***99. Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the present number of (*i*) junior madrasahs (for boys and girls) and (*ii*) middle English schools, in the district of Bakarganj?

(*b*) If the number of such institutions is not adequate will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action, if any, he proposes to take for their increase?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) (*i*) 43 and (*ii*) 97.

(*b*) If the existing number of junior madrasah classes attached to high madrasahs and middle English classes attached to high English schools is taken into account, the existing number of junior madrasahs and middle English schools may not be considered inadequate.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of extending more liberal aid in the shape of recurring grants to madrassahs in the district of Bakarganj?

Mr. SPEAKER: Have you heard the answer to previous supplementary questions? If you had, you would not have put this question.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Apart from official information, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state from his personal knowledge whether madrassahs in the district of Bakarganj and particularly in the Patuakhali subdivision are extremely few and far between?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Application by an M.L.A. for purchasing newspapers while in jail.

***100. Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Jails) Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that Mr. Sibnath Banerjee, a member of this House, while he was a Division I prisoner in Alipore Central Jail applied on or about the 11th September, 1939, for permission to buy his own copies of the daily *Statesman* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*;

(*ii*) that he sent a reminder on the subject on or about the first week of October, 1939; and

(*iii*) that he received no reply whatsoever till he came out of jail on the 2nd November, 1939?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether that petition has reached him? If so, when?

(*c*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that representations made from jail are not speedily disposed of?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he proposes to take for the early disposal of such cases?

(*e*) Does the Hon'ble Minister contemplate transfer of some of these powers to the Superintendents concerned, keeping the right of appeal with himself, for speedy hearing of these petty matters?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) (*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) and (*iii*) I have no information.

(*b*) Yes. On the 23rd September, 1939.

(*c*) I am not aware of any general complaint of this nature.

(*d*) Does not arise.

(*e*) I am prepared to consider the suggestion.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ কোরে বোলবেন কি যে, ২৩শে সেপ্টেম্বর তারিখে যখন দরখাস্ত তাঁর হস্তগত হোল তারপর থেকে ২রা নভেম্বর পর্যন্ত যখন শিবনাথ বাবু খালাস পেলেন—এর মধ্যে তিনি কি step নিয়েছেন ?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Unfortunately there has been regrettable delay in dealing with this file in office, and an explanation has been called for from office for this.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: আমি জিজ্ঞাসা কোর্ত্তে চাই ১১ই সেপ্টেম্বর দরখাস্ত দেওয়া হয়েছে Alipore জেলে আর সেই দরখাস্ত Home Ministerএর কাছে পৌঁছতে কি ১২ দিন লাগে ?

Mr. SPEAKER: In view of the answer that has been given, I think no further supplementary questions are necessary.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: In view of the reply given by the Hon'ble Minister that "there has been regrettable delay", will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the fact that there has been a habitual delay in the department and to enquire into various other cases which in other days he said that he was not aware of?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: One swallow does not make a summer.

Study of Geology in the Presidency College, Calcutta.

*101. **Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department aware—

(*i*) that in the B.Sc. course in the Presidency College, Calcutta, there are seven groups of combinations with restriction and reservation for taking up Honours;

(*ii*) that in Group five fulfilling all the restrictions students are not allowed to take up Honours in Chemistry with Geology Pass;

(*iii*) that candidates have to give up Geology in favour of Physiology or any other subject at the expense of Geology; and

(*iv*) that eminent men like His Excellency the Marquess of Linlithgow and others are of opinion that the knowledge of Geology is essential for the agricultural uplift of the country?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of encouraging and allowing the study of Geology in the Presidency College?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) (*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) This is not altogether correct. There is one student in the Fourth Year B.Sc. class with Honours in Chemistry and Pass in Geology.

(*iii*) This is not altogether correct, although it must be admitted that students are discouraged from taking any subject other than Physics and Mathematics with Honours in Chemistry. The reason is that, the Honours course in Chemistry having become decidedly mathematical in recent years, a knowledge of Mathematics and Physics up to the B.Sc. standard is necessary for the proper study of Honours Chemistry. There is no restriction against reading Geology with Chemistry Pass.

(*iv*) Yes.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Military College in Bengal.

*102. **Mr. SERAJUL ISLAM:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister be pleased to state whether it is in the contemplation of Government to start a military college for Bengal to give military training to the children of the soil?

(*b*) If so—

(*i*) how and when; and

(*ii*) what step, if any, has he taken in the matter?

(*c*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason therefor?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) The question has not been considered so far.

(*b*) Does not arise.

(*c*) So far as I am aware, the existing military training establishments of the Government of India are sufficient to deal with all those of this province who intend to take up the career of a soldier.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he has ascertained the number of persons in Bengal desirous of having military training in the province?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: No, Sir, unfortunately I have not.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state on what basis he makes the statement that the existing military training establishments of the Government of India are sufficient to deal with all those of this province who intend to take up the carer of a soldier?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: That is the official information.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: In view of the discussion on the war resolution which took place on the last three days, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of starting a training college in this province?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Certainly.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state which particular office does he mean when he says that it is the official information which he is merely putting forward before this House?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HAQ: The Education Department made certain enquiries before they framed the answer. Beyond that I do not know.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he has sent communications to the Government of India for making further provisions for military training for young men of this province?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: There has been some correspondence on this point, but I do not exactly remember what it is, but correspondence has been going on.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Is it contemplated in the correspondence that has been going on between the Hon'ble Minister and the Government of India to set up a military training college in this province without any further delay?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: That is a question to which I cannot give a satisfactory answer, because the question of setting up a military training college involves very heavy expenditure, and various questions will have to be considered. I am not in a position to say more than this that steps are being taken to establish a military college in this province.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Sir, my question was whether in the correspondence which the Hon'ble Minister has been carrying on with the Government of India, the idea of establishing a military college occurs at all?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Yes, certainly.

Research scholarships in Botany in Presidency College for Hindu students.

*103. **Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(i) that certain research scholarships in Botany were proposed to be created for Hindu students in the Presidency College by a gift of Rs. 50,000, offered by Lady Abala Bose; and

(ii) that donation offered has been withdrawn for the Government refusal to accept the condition that the beneficiaries will be Hindu students?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*ii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the grounds for non-acceptance of such a condition?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether gifts by private persons for scholarships and stipends intended solely for Muslim students have been accepted by the Government in the past?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) (*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) No. There was a stipulation that facilities for research should be provided by the authorities of the Presidency College and all incidental expenses therefor be borne by the College. Lady Bose was at first requested to delete this clause. She refused; whereupon the request was withdrawn but Lady Bose had already made other arrangements.

(*b*) Does not arise.

(*c*) Trust funds have been created for scholarships and stipends to Moslem students exclusively but such funds are not ordinarily supplemented by contribution from Provincial Revenues.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to explain the word "ordinarily" in part (*c*) of the answer.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I can only say that the dictionary definition is all that is available.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in view of the fact that certain trust funds are supplemented by contributions from provincial revenues, the Hon'ble Minister could not make an exception in this case having regard to the fact that Sir J. C. Bose spent the best part of his life in connection with the Presidency College?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Do you want an answer to this? I can only say that I shall consider the suggestion.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Regarding answer (*a*) (*ii*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state as to when the request to Lady Bose to delete the clause was withdrawn?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I could not give the date, Sir. I want notice if such information is wanted.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is going to take no further money from the Hindus for the spread of education among the Hindu boys?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Cattle epidemic in the district of Bakarganj.

*104. **Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture (Veterinary) Department aware—

(*i*) that cattle epidemic creates a havoc every year in the district of Bakarganj carrying away thousands of heads of cattle; and

(*ii*) that existing Veterinary staff is unable to cope with the epidemic when it breaks out in virulent form?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*ii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps, if any, the Government have taken or propose to take in future for the prevention of a recurrence?

(*c*) Do the Government contemplate the appointment of a Special Officer for surveying the incidence of recurrence of the cattle epidemic in the district?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*) (*i*) I am aware that serious cattle epidemics are of frequent occurrence in this district. Being a water district, these epidemics are usually virulent.

(*ii*) I admit that in the past there have been occasions when the existing Veterinary staff were unable to cope with the situation.

(*b*) Under the new provincialisation scheme, there are now 8 Veterinary Assistant Surgeons working entirely under the orders of Government whose sole duties are the prevention and control of contagious cattle disease, especially in epidemic form. Before the present scheme came into force, Veterinary Assistant Surgeons throughout the province were under the dual control of local authorities as well as Government and one of the principal reasons for the introduction of the new scheme was to obviate the difficulty felt at times of serious outbreaks of cattle disease in mobilising staff quickly in affected areas. I am hopeful that the new system will do much to overcome those difficulties and that not only Bakarganj but all districts will benefit from the arrangement whereby Government now have entire control of the contagious disease staff and can therefore mobilise it quickly and where it is wanted in times of emergency.

(*c*) No.

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope the House has no objection to take the answer as read.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he considers that the eight Veterinary Assistant Surgeons are extremely inadequate for taking preventive as well as curative measures against cattle diseases in the district?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Yes, Sir.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with reference to answer (*c*) "No", the reasons for not appointing an officer to survey the incidence of recurrence of cattle epidemics in the district?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: That cannot be, particularly for one district. Cattle epidemic is prevalent in many other districts also.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the position of the stationary Veterinary Assistant Surgeons will be disturbed when the new provincialization scheme is taken up?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: No, Sir.

Nature and duties of the post held by Dr. W. A. Jenkins, I.E.S.

***105. Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the name of the office at present held by Dr. W. A. Jenkins, I.E.S.;

(*ii*) the monthly pay he draws;

(*iii*) allowances, if any, and the time he is holding such post, and the duties he is to perform as such; and

(*iv*) whether he has sponsored any scheme or schemes?

(*b*) if the answer to (*a*)(*iv*) is in the negative, are the Government considering the advisability of abolishing the post?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*)(*i*) Special Officer in the Office of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

(*ii*) Rs. 2,175 *plus* overseas pay of £30 per month.

(iii) Calcutta House Allowance at the rate admissible under the rules. He has been appointed as a Special Officer for the present for one year from the 17th October, 1939, in connection with the following matters:—

(1) Calcutta University Bill.

(2) Secondary Education Bill.

(3) Scholarship Scheme for Schools.

(4) Reorganisation Scheme for Inspectorate.

(5) Adult Education Committee.

(6) Scheduled Castes Committee.

(7) Primary Education Act (Amendment).

(8) Primary Education (Finance).

(9) Women's Intermediate Colleges at Chittagong and Jalpaiguri.

(10) Dacca University questions, *e.g.*, Medical Faculty.

(*iv*) Dr. Jenkins was appointed as a Special Officer on the 16th December, 1937, in connection with—

(1) Secondary Education;

(2) Girls' Educatiaon;

(3) Investigation of the claims to grant-in-aid of—

(*i*) the City College, and

(*ii*) the College Department of the Victoria Institution, Comilla; and

(4) Constructive retrenchment in the Education Department.

He has submitted his schemes on the above subjects as well as on some other subjects which he was specially asked to prepare.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government have examined those schemes referred to in answer (*iv*)?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise here. It should be purely about Dr. Jenkins as Special Officer.

Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how much time did the officer devote to prepare each of the schemes mentioned in answer (*a*) (*iv*)?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, he seems to be working the whole day in office, but I do not know, because I do not go into details; but he is always busy.

Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with regard to answer (*ir*) (1), (2), (3), (4), what was the subject matter of his investigation?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is not a proper question.

Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD: Sir, the matter arises in this way. It is said that the officer in question was making investigations with regard to grant-in-aid of the City College and Victoria Institution as if the subjects are so very vast that it required two years to complete that investigation.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am afraid that does not arise.

Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government still consider it necessary to retain that officer in spite of the meagre service he renders to the department?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, the question of the amount of work done by the officer has not yet come up for consideration, because all these Bills are being drafted, or the drafts are being considered. I do not think the work done can be called meagre, because some of these schemes are of a very comprehensive character and require a good deal of departmental and other research. In view of that, Sir, I do not think I can accept the honourable member's suggestion that the work done by this officer has been meagre.

Babu NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTY: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দয়া কোরে জানাবেন কি Dr. Jenkins এই সমস্ত বিশিষ্ট কাজে কত দিন ধরে নিযুক্ত আছেন ?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: In some cases he has sent up reports, but not in all.

Babu NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTY: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দয়া কোরে জানাবেন কি তিনি উত্তরদানের সময় যে বিষয়গুলির কথা বোলেছেন, এই সমস্ত বিষয়ে Dr. Jenkins কতবার তাঁহার নিকট report পাঠিয়েছেন ?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, when he was appointed in 1937, his work was not completed, and besides, the Bills referred to in (*a*)(*iii*) had to be considered and then drafted. That was the reason why he was recommended to be put on special duty.

Babu NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTY: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বোলেছেন Dr. Jenkins ৩/৪ বৎসর এই কাজ কোরে আসছেন--তাঁর পুনর্নিয়োগ সম্বন্ধে বিবেচনা করবার কি কারণ ঘটেছিল ?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Yes, that is so.

Babu NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTY: গত ১৯৩৭ সালের পর Dr. Jenkins এই সমস্ত বিষয়ে Governmentএর নিকট কতবার report দাখিল কোরেছেন ?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, he is, as a matter of fact, specialising in special work. (Laughter.)

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMAD ALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the nature of his work in connection with the Adult Education Committee?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Adult Education Committee is a Committee of which I think the honourable member too is a member (Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, I am not.) Are you not? (A VOICE FROM THE CONGRESS BENCHES: "You make him a member".) I am prepared to do that if he is willing to work as such.

As far as the Adult Education Committee is concerned, I have seen two or three reports; some valuable information has been collected and on the basis of that, Government propose to appoint a Committee; it is on the lines suggested by the houourable member in a Resolution, which unfortunately did not come up for consideration, because it did not reach in time; but we are going to take action on the lines of that resolution and on the basis of the researches made by Dr. Jenkins in the Adult Education Committee.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what particular steps Dr. Jenkins has taken with regard to the Calcutta University Bill and the Secondary Education Bill?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, the Calcutta University Bill has been drafted, and the Secondary Education Bill was thrice drafted. Both these Bills have been held up, because, it is felt that there are statutory bars to this House taking up the question. Unless that question is settled, these two Bills cannot be introduced.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMAD ALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he like me considers it desirable that "Adult Education" should be placed under the Director of Rural Reconstruction for better facility of work?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Babu NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTY: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দয়া কোরে বোলবেন কি গত পাঁচ বৎসর ধরে Dr. Jenkins একই report বার বার Governmentএর কাছে পাঠিয়েছেন—একথা কি সত্য ?

The Hon'ble Hr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: "Same report"! (Laughter.) I am not aware of it, but it would be really very interesting if it were so.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দয়া কোরে বোলবেন কি Dr. Jenkins Scheduled Caste Education Committeeর Chairman এবং Scheduled Caste Educationএর জন্য একজন Special Officer দরকার একথা Government অনেক বার বোলেছেন। Government এই পদে Dr. Jenkins কে পাকা কোরে দেবেন কি ?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: We have got a Special Officer belonging to the Scheduled Castes, and I think his name is also Rasik Babu. (Laughter.)

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with regard to the statutory disabilities in the way of introducing the Calcutta University Bill and the Secondary Education Bill, whether any steps have been taken by Government to remove those statutory disabilities?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, it depends on the amendment to the Government of India Act which is under consideration.

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise here.

Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD: With reference to answer (*iv*) regarding constructive retrenchment in the Education Department, in view of the fact that there are two Assistant Directors of Public Instruction and a Special Officer in addition, will the Hon'ble Minister consider it desirable that the post of Special Officer be abolished in consideration of making retrenchment in the Education Department?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise; that is a request for action.

Mr. PREMHARI BARMA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what has been done in connection with the Scheduled Castes Community till now?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: With reference to the reorganisation scheme for Inspectorate, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what particular step has been taken so far?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I draw your attention to the watch?

Mr. SPEAKER: My attention has already been drawn.

Is there any supplementary?

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: I shall ask supplementary questions with regard to the unstarred question No. 42.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I shall put question on No. 30.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: I shall ask supplementary questions on No. 38.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think I have been misunderstood. Answer to a certain question has been given by the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan at the end of Starred Questions. I wanted to know whether you will put any supplementaries on that answer.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: I would like to draw your attention, Mr. Speaker, to the fact that to-day more than 40 questions have been placed before the House——

Mr. SPEAKER: At the instance of the Leader of the Opposition we had to keep out questions for a certain day, and things were arranged accordingly. I am not prepared to hear anything to the contrary from one belonging to his party.

Questions lying unanswered.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: May I draw your attention to the fact that certain number of questions are still lying unanswered—questions as old as the first week of November. There is one particular question which your department sent to the Home Department on the 17th November, relating to the arrest of certain persons in Calcutta in connection with profiteering. I submit that if I cannot get the reply by to-morrow, the spirit of the question will be lost in the next session.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will see that it is immediately answered.

Notice of a Short-Notice Question.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Mr. Speaker, I want to know if I have got consent of the Minister to my short-notice question No. 458. Please allow me to say what I intend to say on a very important subject.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please see me in my chamber. I shall allow you to speak to-morrow on that, if necessary.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: If the House be prorogued to-morrow, I shall be denied the opportunity of speaking.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not know anything about that yet.

Discussion on Jute Ordinance.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: We have been assured that there will be a discussion on the Jute Ordinance. From what we see we think that the assurance will be fulfilled as it was done last year that is to say it will not be fulfilled at all.

Mr. SPEAKER: The step that I will take in case the House be prorogued to-morrow is this: The matter is pending and on it no decision has yet been arrived. The motion was tabled and therefore if no further discussion takes place, it may be my duty to put it before the House before it is prorogued. But I shall consider the point.

Resignation of the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: May I draw your attention, Mr. Speaker, to the fact that according to to-day's evening newspaper report, the Hon'ble Mr. Sarker has submitted his resignation. Will Government make any statement on that subject?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have no information.

Quarters for the Head Master and boarding houses of the guru-training school at Suri.

*106. **Dr. SHARAT CHANDRA MUKHERJI:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department aware—

(*i*) that there is a *guru*-training school at Suri;

(*ii*) that the Head Master of this school has no quarters provided for him and has to live in the town about a mile off from the school;

(*iii*) that the boarding houses have tiled and tinned roofs over them;

(*iv*) that during the hot months the boarding houses become too hot to live in; and

(*v*) that a boarder, Ahi Bhusan Bhattacharyya, died of heat stroke in the boarding house last year?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he proposes to take in the matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) The projects regarding the construction of quarters for the Head Master of the school and provision of asbestos ceiling in the hostel building are under consideration of the department.

Comparative value of British and Indian Degrees and Diplomas.

*107. **Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD:** (*a*) Has the attention of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department been drawn to the "Note" of the Bombay Government on the subject declaring that British Degrees and Diplomas are not superior to those of Indian Universities?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state that whether it is in the contemplation of Government to issue a similar note in the interest of the province?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) and (*b*) I will obtain and study a copy of the "Note".

Extension of services granted to clerks in offices under Presidency and Central Circles.

***108. Mr. ABDUR RASCHID MAHMOOD:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing since April, 1937, the names of the clerks both in the upper and lower grades who have been granted extension in the Presidency and Central Circles and in the Divisional Offices attached to these two circles?

(*b*) When did they attain the age of 55 years?

(*c*) How many times have they been granted extension?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: (*a*) Babu Atindra Nath Mukherjee.

(*b*) 15th October, 1933.

(*c*) Once, for about nine months from the 15th October, 1938.

Substitution of answer to clause (c) of Starred Question No. 8.

In pursuance of the promise made by the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture and Veterinary Departments in replying to supplementaries to clause (*c*) of starred question No. 8 put on the 29th November, 1939, by Maulvi Abdur Raschid Mahmood, the following answer is substituted for clause (*c*) of the said question:—

Maulvi ABDUR RASCHID MAHMOOD: (*c*) Has 50 per cent. of the above posts (clerical posts in the office of the Chief Controller of Jute Registration, Bengal) been given to Muslims, and 15 per cent. to the Scheduled Castes? If not, why not?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*c*) No. But, as far as the Muslims are concerned, the prescribed ratio of 50 per cent. has been observed in respect of all the clerical appointments made at a time in the office of the Chief Controller, Chief Inspectors, Inspectors, etc., taken together. It has not been possible to observe the ratio either

in respect of Muslims or Scheduled Castes in the office of the Chief Inspector as, in view of the complexity of the work in that office and the expedition with which it has to be done, it was necessary to appoint men with considerable experience in accounts and office work in that office and most of the Muslim and Scheduled Caste candidates with such qualifications secured better and more lucrative jobs such as those of Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors. A number of clerks of the Jute Census Office specially trained in the sort of work required to be done were taken over in the Chief Controller's office for facility of work. The deficiency in Muslim percentage in the Chief Controller's office has, however, been compensated by taking more than the ratio prescribed for Muslims in other offices started under the same scheme. It has not yet been possible to make up the deficiency in the percentage of the Scheduled Castes as has been done in the case of the Muslims as the required number of qualified Scheduled Caste candidates for these clerical posts has not, so far been forthcoming, though the full quota of vacancies according to the prescribed ratio has been reserved for them.

The Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill, 1939.

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: I beg to present the Report of the Select Committee on the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill, 1939.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: We do not find this on the agenda paper.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not necessary.

EXCESS GRANTS, 1937-38.

Discussion of the Report of the Committee on Public Accounts.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Presentation of the Report always has been placed in the agenda and in the rules also it is provided——

Mr. SPEAKER: I am not aware of it.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: In view of the fact that no useful purpose will be served by merely presenting the report to-day and taking up the discussion sometime next session, will you kindly see if it is at all possible for you to stop this presentation at this moment?

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Sarker.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Before the Hon'ble Mr. Sarker speaks I should like to know if he is going to initiate the discussion as per item No. 8 in the agenda. If he is going to move the excess grant only, I would submit there should be a discussion generally and thereafter these three motions should be put before the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: What I will do is that I will ask the Hon'ble Mr. Sarker to move these three motions first and then we will have a discussion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: In that case it will be quite impossible for the members to confine themselves only to these three items.

Mr. SPEAKER: These are very small items and I think it would be better for the House to take them together; otherwise we will have to sit up very late.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Apart from the items under "Excess grants" the Committee has recommended certain things.

Mr. SPEAKER: If you want to have a discussion I have no objection.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I submit that the general discussion is of more vital importance than the formal approval of the Legislature of certain extra grants

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have some amount of hesitation in opening the discussion on the Public Accounts Committee this evening, first, because I am not quite aware if it will be possible for the Hon'ble Mr. Sarker, the present Finance Minister, to give any assurance in connection with the points raised, because after all it is common knowledge by this time that he has chosen the difficult way of being in the opposition of the Ministry, and therefore, it would probably be desirable for the Government to put up some other member of the Cabinet to give assurances in connection with the observations and the recommendations made in the Report of the Public Accounts Committee. Any way, I would draw attention of the House to some of the observations, so that the members of the Assembly may realise the gravity of the situation, so far as Public Accounts in Bengal are concerned. The report deals *in extenso* with a number of specific instances but generally speaking we have come to certain definite recommendations by almost virtual unanimity and in one or two cases by majority of the members of the Committee and in view of that I suppose my friends on the opposite

would realise that the recommendations have been, more or less, on non-party lines, and they would kindly apply their minds on an examination of this report more or less on that basis.

Sir, the first thing that we have noticed in connexion with the Public Accounts of the year 1937-38, was that for some part of the year there was lack of control in some departments. The explanation given was that because of the change over under the new constitution it was not possible for the departments to get adjusted to the new system as a result of the operations of the new Act, and, therefore, some officers who were to exercise their control did not know their duty or did not receive sufficient instruction in time to have the control exercised by them properly. This we have noted is a very unfortunate state of affairs, but it is hoped that in future years such things will not happen. It has been pointed out in particular by us,—that is given in page 12—that there has been no rule laid down for the purchase of live-stock and particularly of stud bulls and we have recommended that Government should formulate some definite rules on the subject. In subsequent years also it will be noticed by members that so far there is still the absence of these rules I would like to have a definite assurance from Government that they do accept this recommendation; because only recently, Sir, I had been to Khulna, and there the report was brought to me that a stud bull—which was purchased through the usual agency of a particular merchant contractor at Lahore through the recommendation of the live-stock expert,—when that particular bull was taken to a cow for service, it began to lick the udder of the cow instead of jumping on it It is a scandal which I want the Government to really try to stop. So far as the reports go, it is found that when the live-stock expert is cornered, he replies that the bull was not properly fed. These bulls are supplied to village Union Board Presidents or some other officers of that type and although they cannot get any service out of the bulls they have to feed them for one year or more. They naturally grumble, and when they make use of the bull otherwise, —they generally put the bull under yoke,—then naturally the bull goes absolutely wrong and there can be no use of the bull in future for the purpose for which it was purchased. Such a state of affairs must be stopped forthwith. I draw the particular attention of my friend Mr. Mohammed Ali, who is particularly careful about the health of bulls. But I find he is not present in the House.

Secondly, we also found, and that was also seriously noted, that either with a view to please the Legislature or for some other purpose we do not know, Government have been putting lump sum in the budget for certain future schemes that they proposed to take up. This system of providing lump sum in the budget has led to excesses in the budget and bad budgeting as a consequence. If Government is not ready with schemes prudence demands that Government should not place any

funds specifically for a particular unknown scheme in the budget and ask the vote of the House on that unknown scheme. I submit that in future it should be the duty of the House to see that no scheme which has not fully matured and not been properly examined gets any amount of money allotted to it, just to have an eye-wash by money having been provided for a certain kind of service. This is stated in paragraph 13.

It was also noticed, and all the members of the Committee were unanimous in that respect, that large sums of money relating to some nation-building departments,—medical department, public health department, civil works, irrigation, and so on,—could not be properly utilized, although year after year money was provided for such purposes. It is really another scandal which the House should take serious note of. Nation-building services should as far as practicable be attended to with as much expedition as the present Government can manage to, and I submit that here also we should have a definite assurance that in future all the money that the House will vote should be spent wholly in the nation-building departments, of course consistent with efficiency.

I will not take much of your time. There is only one other matter to which I would refer. Under "Irrigation" it has been noticed that the manner in which we have been proceeding will hardly enable us to keep any scheme under the category of productive scheme. Irrigation projects like the Burdwan Canal project and almost all irrigation projects that we have before us were thoroughly examined and you will find a typical case in the Burdwan Canal project which, as the Accountant-General points out, has no prospect of ever coming up to the standard which Government have laid down to enable it to be called a productive scheme. That being the position, time has come when Government has got to change their policy regarding such irrigation schemes, or the House will have to realise when they allot money for irrigation schemes to what extent they are likely to get return for the money so far as the standard of productivity is concerned.

With regard, Sir, to one other matter which has not been noted in the body of the Report but to which reference has been made in the detailed discussion, I would just draw your attention, namely, to the reckless expenditure incurred in connection with one Excise Raid Case. The Gariahat Excise Raid Case cost the Government in all nearly two lakhs of rupees. It was stated that out of this amount certain sums will be available from the Government of India. It was found that one Counsel got about 85 thousand rupees. I submit it is a scandalous waste of money. These are matters, Sir, which require careful consideration.

I would not like to take much of your time to-day because I know that the present Finance Minister, at least to-day's Finance Minister,

may not be able to give me necessary assurance, but I would draw the attention of the House so that members of the Coalition Party may, either in course of today's discussion or in future in course of the budget discussion, apply their minds properly and see that every penny that we provide to Government is properly spent and the rules for regulating expenditure along the proper lines are properly and duly followed.

The Hon'ble Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER: On the recommendation of the Governor I beg to move that as recommended by the Committee of Public Accounts the Legislative Assembly do vote the demand of Rs. 7,239 under head "30—Ports and Pilotage", representing the expenditure incurred in excess of the grant voted for the year 1937-38.

On the recommendation of the Governor I beg to move that as recommended by the Committee of Public Accounts the Legislative Assembly do vote the demand of Rs. 68,302 under head "55—Superannuation Allowances and Pensions, etc." representing the expenditure incurred in excess of the grant, 1937-38.

On the recommendation of the Governor I beg to move that as recommended by the Committee of Public Accounts the Legislative Assembly do vote the demand of Rs. 11,476 under the head "Interest-free advances" representing the expenditure incurred in excess of the grant voted for the year 1937-38.

Sir, with reference to the remarks made by Dr. Sanyal, I can assure him that whatever assurance the Finance Minister of to-day will give that will be upheld by the Finance Minister of to-morrow. So far as the assurance contemplated by Dr. Sanyal is concerned, I can tell him that though all these items are very important, Government have not yet examined the recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee. Government after the discussion in this House will examine every recommendation of the Public Accounts Committee and I have no doubt that Government will give due consideration to the recommendation of a statutory body of this House.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker that an excess grant of Rs. 7,239 be voted by the Assembly to regularise the expenditure incurred in excess of the voted grant in the year 1937-38 under the major head "30—Ports and Pilotage", was then put and agreed to.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker that an excess grant of Rs. 68,302 be voted by the Assembly to regularise the

expenditure incurred in excess of the voted grant in the year 1937-38 under the major head "55—Superannuation Allowances and Pensions, etc.", was then put and agreed to.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker that an excess grant of Rs. 11,476 be voted by the Assembly to regularise the expenditure incurred in excess of the voted grant in the year 1937-38 under the major head "Interest-free advances", was then put and agreed to.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The Bengal Jute Regulation Bill, 1939.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I am not moving my motion but I shall make a statement in that connection. As the House is well aware, Government in August last announced that they had decided to adopt the policy of regulating the cultivation of jute in Bengal with a view to stabilising and improving the price obtained by the growers by controlling the supply of raw jute so as to bring it as closely as possible into line with the anticipated world demand. The first step which it was necessary to take towards implementing this decision and endorsing this policy was to obtain a record of the lands upon which jute was grown by each individual grower throughout the province to form the necessary basis upon which, by a system of licences, the necessary regulation could be made. Immediate action therefore was necessary and as the legislature was not in session the Jute Regulation Ordinance was promulgated in October last to enable the record of jute lands to be prepared. The Jute Regulation Ordinance will expire six weeks after the commencement of the current session of the legislature, that is to say, on the 4th or 5th of January. The work of preparing the record is now in full swing and although it is being pushed forward with the utmost despatch it cannot be finished by the 5th January. This fact was realised in the beginning and Government therefore introduced at the earliest opportunity in the current session the Jute Regulation Bill which, besides incorporating all the salient provisions of the Ordinance for the preparation of the record, also contains provisions conferring power on Government to regulate the crop in any year. The Government were very anxious to have the Bill passed into law before the Ordinance ceased to have effect so that, in the first place, there might be no interruption in the preparation of the record, and also so that Government, if it should decide that the crop of 1940 should be regulated, might have the necessary powers to enforce any regulation decided upon. Despite our best endeavours

we have now reached a point at which it has become clear that there is no prospect of this measure being passed by both Houses of the Legislature by the 5th January next. That being so, it seems to me that no useful purposes will be served by the Bill being taken into consideration in this House to-day. I wish to make it preferctly clear that Government have not in any way modified and have no intention of deviating from the policy which they have already announced in regard to the regulation of jute cultivation in Bengal. Government are unflicking in their determination to finish the preparation of the record which is now being carried on. I must also make it very clear that the fact that I do not propose to move for consideration of the Jute Regulation Bill to-day does not mean that Government have come to any decision in regard to the crop of 1940. No such decision has been arrived at. The question as to whether the 1940 crop should be regulated or not is still under consideration and a decision will be taken on that question very soon. It will be obvious to the members of this House that such a decision cannot now be very long delayed because if the decision should be to regulate, it will be necessary very soon to set up the necessary machinery for the issue of licences and so forth well in advance of the beginning of the next sowing season. If necessary, therefore, powers will have to be taken by the promulgation of another ordinance during the time that the legislature may not be in session. In any case, it is essential that the work of preparing the record should be continued and completed as speedily as possible. For both these reasons an ordinance may be necessary. The present Jute Regulation Bill will be taken up for consideration as soon as the legislature meets for its next session. Any ordinance that it may be necessary to promulgate will be on the same lines as the present Bill, the principles of which have already been generally accepted by this House.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I want to make a few observations arising out of this statement. This statement raises some very fundamental questions of principle. There was an ordinance at a time when the House was not in session. As soon as the House met there were several members of this House who demanded that the ordinances should be discussed. Not all of us felt that there was complete justification for the ordinances. Sir, there was a Jute Bill and we felt that in the course of discussion of that Bill we would be in a position to make our observations regarding the manner in which Government has been interfering with the business in jute. That opportunity also has unfortunately been taken away by the sudden decision of Government not to proceed with the Bill at this session. It is most regrettable and unfortunate. Government have not only not refrained from

proceeding with the Bill but have also threatened us with a future ordinance of a similar character, so that, Sir, while there is absolutely no difficulty for this Assembly to meet, we are threatened by Government that they are going to rule Bengal through a series of ordinances. We strongly protest against this procedure. It is not only unconstitutional but it is also regrettable further because, Sir, it is known in the whole "Fatka" market that the Government of Bengal—some Ministers of Bengal—are interfering with the market in a manner which is seriously dislocating the stability of the prices of jute. I have got the names of persons in the share market through whom the Ministers are operating in the market.

Mr. SPEAKER: That has nothing to do with the subject-matter under discussion. You can only make an observation on the statement made by the Hon'ble Minister.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I submit that the power Government wants to take in the matter is not with *bona fide* intentions. It is intended to be utilised as an opportunity for making money for individual Ministers as some of them are dong. ("Shame", "shame" from Congress Benches.) Sir, I have reasons to believe and I can show chapter and verse from communiqués issued by this Government, that the day they find something is wrong in the prices, e.g., either when the prices have a tendency to go down against a particular Minister, a communiqué comes out, or when they find the prices are high against the interests of certain Ministers another communiqué comes out to put down the prices. This method of issuing communiqué after communiqué upsetting the position of the market has been going on in a scandalous manner and I appeal to the Leader of the European Group, Mr. Walker, who himself knows something of this to come out with a statement in the matter.

Sir, I submit that Government could proceed with the Bill to-day, to-morrow and the day after, and I think it will not take more than two or three days to pass a Bill of this character. Instead, we cannot understand why the Government again went to shelve the matter and put off things for another ordinance. And if they are going to have an ordinance I cannot understand why they stopped short at the kind of ordinance which was necessary in the months of August and September. Why can't they assure us that they won't go in for another ordinance again, unless a comprehensive measure is conceived.

Mr. SPEAKER: You are not to speak anything about the past ordinance here. What we are concerned with is the withdrawal of the Bill and you can say what all you want to in regard to the withdrawal of the Bill.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Perhaps you have followed him, Sir. The Hon'ble Minister has threatened us that there may be the possibility of a fresh ordinance and he has also said that that ordinance will be along the same lines as the present one.

Mr. SPEAKER: Therefore it is all the more the reason as to why you should speak about the future and not about the past.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Therefore I say, in future when an ordinance will be made, as the Hon'ble Minister himself has held out the prospects of one, I cannot understand why he cannot think of a comprehensive ordinance which will bring real relief to the tenantry, which will include not merely control of jute production but of the jute mills also, and which will at the same time provide for the setting up of a machinery for sale and of warehousing if all these four different points which have been recommended by the Jute Committee are not simultaneously tackted up, we submit, Sir, there can be no hope of a better price to the cultivator. That being the position, Sir, we on this side of the House strongly protest against the manner in which this Bill is being shelved. No amount of crocodile tears can induce the cultivators of Bengal to have the impression that the present Government is really serious about bringing them the desired boon. Government wanted to give some appointments to their henchmen and that was the purpose of the last Jute Ordinance. Now the Government have somehow or other passed through this session of the Legislature and they will not have the necessity of an ordinance for some time more. To-morrow, or rather, say, just before the next Budget Session, they will have another ordinance and secure appointments to their henchmen again. That is the manner in which things are going to be handled. We strongly protest against this kind of Government action

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, Very serious allegations have been made; and I must emphatically repudiate the insinuation——(Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: we will prove them; have you the courage to have a Committee of Enquiry?)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order Dr. Sanyal, when you made an imputation of a very grave character it is only fair that the other side should have an opportunity to have their say. I cannot allow any debate on this but it is only fair that I should allow an opportunity for the Hon'ble Minister to answer the allegations by affirmation or contradiction.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I most emphatically repudiate——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, will you allow me to enumerate the names of the merchants who transacted business in the Jute Fatka Market on behalf of the Ministers?

Mr. SPEAKER: No, no. I cannot allow you to do so at this stage.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. I submit, Sir, when a member from this side of the House wants to place the names before the House he ought to be permitted to do so.

Mr. SPEAKER: As a matter of fact I do not think I can do it at this stage. But if the names are placed before me I shall certainly consider them later, but now I cannot allow it.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I repudiate the insinuations and allegations which are of a very grave nature—

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We know that you have not made any money.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Have a Committee of Enquiry?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Dr. Sanyal, I am very sorry that parliamentary business cannot go on in this way. The moment there is something which is contradictory to you Dr. Sanyal, you shout with a view to drown the voice of others. Let him have his say. If necessary I will consider what you have got to say on this later.

(Mr. Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar rose up raising cries of protest, but his voice was drowned by cries of "sit down," "sit down" from the Coalition Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Yes, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, this is my fifth attempt and I hope I shall be more successful this time. I repudiate most strongly the insinuations that have been made by my honourable friend. (A VOICE FROM THE OPPOSITION BENCHES: It is no insinuation; it is a charge.) There is no basis for them. If my friend can prove that those allegations are true, I think he should be bold enough to make those allegations outside this House and not under the protection of the House.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order. Now that the Hon'ble Minister had practically challenged Dr. Sanyal to give names I submit that he (Dr. Sanyal) should be given an opportunity to give out the names of the Ministers.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, Mr. Bose, he did not say so. He said that if Dr. Sanyal was so equipped with facts then he should not make that statement under the protection and privilege of the House but outside.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, it is for Dr. Sanyal to decide for himself, whether he will make that statement outside this House but so far as this House is concerned, I do demand, that it is the right of every member to make not mere insinuations but also definite charges and to substantiate them by giving facts and figures and names in support. It is the right of every member which I claim in this House

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan will now go on with his Bengal Agricultural Produce Markets Bill, 1939

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, am I to take it that you do not permit Dr. Sanyal to mention the names in support of the charges brought forward by him in this House?

Mr. SPEAKER: If you want that matter to be taken up, we shall do it at the proper time

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: This is the proper time, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry I can't do so now.

(An uproar and confusion on both sides of the House.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry. Here is a statement and this statement was made when the Government withdraws the Bill. You want to protest against that. I have not got the machinery to allow that now. Well, if necessary the proper forum for it was the time when the Jute Ordinance was discussed. Well, if that Jute Ordinance is again discussed that would be the proper time for it. There was no reference to it. Dr. Sanyal spoke about it, and there was no reference. At this stage, I am sorry I cannot allow a debate on it but if there is any such thing, you can find out whether you can table a vote of no confidence. You can bring another motion of that nature but the thing cannot be discussed now.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Do we understand that the Treasury Benches do not want the names to be mentioned on the floor of this House but outside? Is that the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin's suggestion: is that his idea that he should not allow these names to go down in the minutes of the proceedings of the House and that they should be mentioned only outside this House? Is that his idea; let us undertasnd it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, let there be no further discussion about it.

Eastern Frontier Rifles (Bengal Battalion Amendment) Bill, 1939.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin has my permission to be absent, and has requested me to ask the Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy to move the Eastern Frontier Rifles (Bengal Battalion Amendment) Bill, 1939. Will he please move it?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I beg to introduce the Eastern Frontier Rifles (Bengal Battalion Amendment) Bill, 1939.

(The Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I further beg to move that the Bill be taken into consideration.

The motion that the Eastern Frontier Rifles (Bengal Battalion Amendment) Bill, 1939, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

The motion that clause 1 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The motion that clause 2 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The motion that clause 3 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The motion that the Preamble stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I beg to move that the Bill as settled in the Assembly be passed.

The motion that the Eastern Frontier Rifles (Bengal Battalion Amendment) Bill, 1939, as settled in the Assembly be passed was then put and agreed to.

The Bengal Agricultural Produce Markets Bill, 1939.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: May I move my motion in a slightly amended form?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I beg to move that the Bengal Agricultural Produce Markets Bill, 1939, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) Maulvi Idris Ahmed Mia,

(2) Mr. Sadaruddin Ahmed,

(3) Maulvi Muhammad Ishaque,

(4) Maulvi Md. Abdus Shaheed,

(5) Khan Bahadur Maulvi Kabiruddin Khan,

(6) Dr. Sanaullah,

(7) Khan Sahib Hamiduddin Ahmad,

(8) Mr. G. Morgan,

(9) Mr. J. W. R. Steven,

(10) Babu Madhusudan Sarkar,

(11) Mr. Birendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury,

(12) Mr. Iswar Chandra Mal,

(13) Mr. Surendra Nath Biswas,

(14) Mr. Kshetra Nath Singha,

(15) Mr. Pratul Chandra Ganguly,

(16) Mr. Gyasuddin Ahmed, and

(17) the mover,

with instructions to submit their report by the 30th June, 1940, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at five.

Sir, the problem of improving the marketing conditions of agricultural produce is not a new one and action has already been taken in several provinces and States of India. The history of the problem is a long one and I do not wish to describe its evolution in detail; but I

must mention that ever since trading in agricultural produce commenced and developed, it has been considered to be one of the functions of the Government to ensure a fair dealing and to protect the cultivators who are the primary producers of a country's wealth. Every encouragement was given them to bring, and keep land under cultivation.

History is full of instances of the measures which the Pathan and the Moghal Kings of India adopted to regulate the markets or the prices of agricultural produce, so that the consumers may obtain their requirements at a reasonable price and the producers a fair reward for their labours. The name of Alauddin Khiliji stands unique for the very great pains he took to see that the prices of the staple crops remain within everybody's means and famine is avoided by their free movement from places of abundant supply to those of scarcity.

Since the beginning of British rule measures aiming at fixation of prices were adopted by the officers of the East India Company.

Coming to recent times, we find, Sir, that difficulties were acutely felt in Southern India in connection with the marketing of cotton—one of the principal exported products. The earliest law that was enacted referred, therefore, to the regulation of markets for cotton in Bombay and Central Provinces. Later on, Madras Commercial Crops Markets Act and the Central Provinces Agricultural Produce Markets Act were passed and quite recently similar Acts have been passed in the Punjab, North-West Frontier Provinces and Bombay.

Bills on more or less similar lines are now before the Legislatures in the United Provinces and Bihar; but that in the latter province differs somewhat in nature in aiming at the registration of all markets and dealers not only in agricultural produce but in all kinds of commodities.

Among the Indian States, Hyderabad has had its Markets Act long in force which is reported to be working very satisfactorily. The Mysore and Travancore States have also recently passed their Agricultural Produce Markets Acts.

Reverting now to Bengal, I need hardly emphasise that the conditions obtaining in the rural areas are as chaotic as anywhere else. Producers are disorganised and have no means to know the intrinsic value of, and demand for, their produce in the principal markets or centres of consumption. In spite of being producers of marketable commodities, they are preyed upon by clever people and their ignorance is most thoroughly exploited. There is no denying the fact that malpractices are practised everywhere in the trading of agricultural produce. There are illegal exactions, trade allowances or deductions

against which no services are rendered. Scales for weighing the produce are faulty weights are heterogenous and sometimes there are higher weights for buying than for selling.

It will not be out of place to give some idea about the money that disappears by way of illegal charges or customary trade allowances such as *dhalta, britti, dudhkhawa, Baisari, koyali, kabari*, etc. This has also been found by the Bengal Paddy and Rice Enquiry Committee which states:—"Another factor which lowers the return available to the cultivators is the allowances and deductions to which the sellers of paddy have to submit themselves".

Bengal produces on the average about 264 million maunds of rice annually and if one anna per maund be taken as the minimum value of these deductions, the total amount representing their value comes to Rs. 1,65,00,000. In the case of tobacco, these charges amount to about 3 seers per maund. At Rs. 10 per maund the value of 3 seers is 12 annas. The annual production of tobacco in Rangpur and Jalpaiguri districts is nearly 3,000,000 maunds. The value of deductions, therefore, comes to Rs. 22,50,000.

From these two examples, Sir, it can be imagined how much money which would have added to the prosperity and purchasing power of the cultivator goes into wrong pockets.

It is, therefore, to bring the whole system to an orderly condition that the necessity for this Bill has been felt. It is not the object to harass thereby any class of society; but to see that everyone gets a fair and adequate treatment. To realise this object, the first essential is to bring all markets, fairs and *hats* on a register. There would be a nominal fee to be fixed under the rules under the Act for such registration.

This will cause no hardship and the only obligation of the owners would be to inform the marketing department as to the nature, and approximate amount, of produce passing through a market. This is essential in order to take a stock of the importance of each locality as a producing or consuming centre, to gauge inter- and intra-provincial movements and to assess the extent of import and export as against local production and demand. On this will depend the formulation of policy with regard to the requirements of the trade for any particular produce or a variety or type of it most in demand.

Regarding weights and measures, I might just mention in passing that under the Government of India Act, 1935, standardisation of "weights" is a Central subject and that of "Measures" a Provincial one. A Standards of Weights Act has already been passed by the Central Legislature and received the assent of the Governor-General in Council

early this year. But that Act merely lays down the standards. It will be for the provinces to pass enabling Acts to enforce those standards so soon as the necessary specimen standards have been received from the Government of India. The question is under the consideration of Government. I have said that the standardisation of measures is a Provincial subject and this matter too is receiving the attention it deserves.

The question of regulation and standardisation of market charges is an important one that will receive serious consideration.

Coming now to the question of regulated markets, it seems there is a misapprehension among a section of the public that it is intended to close down or abolish all existing markets. Let me at once set these apprehensions at rest by saying that this is not the intention. The successful workings of regulated markets in Bombay, Central Provinces, Hyderabad and Mysore without abolishing existing markets belie this apprehension.

The Royal Agricultural Commission, the Bengal and the Indian Banking Enquiry Committees, amply demonstrated that time was ripe for starting regulated markets under suitable legislation where it did not exist already and for their further extension where such law was in force.

Under this Bill, new regulated markets may be started in areas to be notified in the *Official Gazette*, or existing markets may be regulated under a licence. Again it is not for all the commodities at once that each such regulated market will so operate but only for that or those that may be declared as "notified" and invariably it would be for the most important produce of the area concerned. I may add, Sir, that although it is intended to enforce as speedily as possible the system of registration of markets, *hats*, etc., for the express purpose of eliminating undesirable practices which are detrimental to the growers' interests, I have no intention of starting any scheme of wholesale establishment of regulated markets all over the province. The intention is to proceed cautiously in the first instance to deal with one or two agricultural products of importance in suitable selected areas.

It will be seen from a reading of the Bill that the actual management of the regulated markets will be left to local Market Committees on which the argiculturists will have the largest representation. This is designed to give them a confidence in the management of their local affairs. The local traders will have the next large share in the working of the Committees and there will be provision for nomination, by the District Magistrates, from among the persons he thinks suitable in the best interests of the market. Of course, the general advice and supervision of the Marketing Department of Government will always be

there. It will be realised that local persons possessing knowledge of the local conditions will be in the best position to solve the local problems. This system of local Market Committees of agriculturists, traders and official nominees has worked very well in other Provinces and States and I see no reason why it should not similarly do so in Bengal.

The ultimate object of this measure is to assure to the producer a better value for his produce, by eliminating waste and superfluous intermediate charges as far as practicable, and to secure to the consumer a better quality of the commodities purchased by him and thereby to improve the whole fabric of the marketing of agricultural produce.

I may add that the public opinion elicited as a result of circulation of the Bill has in the majority of cases strongly supported the Bill. Replies have been received from 85 persons or bodies as under—

Officials	...	18
District Boards	...	15
Municipalities	...	40
Landholders or Trade Associations	...	15
Total	...	88

Of these, replies from 71 are definitely in favour of the Bill and these work out to 83 per cent. of the total number of replies received. It is very significant to note that all the District Boards that have replied and 34 out of 40 Municipalities, that is 85 per cent., have approved the Bill in no uncertain terms. Of the Landholders and Trade Associations, 7 are for, and 8 against, the measure. Even those that have opposed it have offered some useful suggestions. These Associations fear that some of the privileges they have so long been enjoying will be unduly curtailed for the benefit of the cultivators. The Bill does not aim at injustice to anyone; but where injustice is being done, it certainly aims at removing it.

Let me assure the House, Sir, that the Select Committee will go very carefully through the opinions received and all criticism, constructive or otherwise, from whatsoever source it may have emanated, will be weighed and valued.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I move that the Bill be re-circulated for the purpose of eliciting further opinion thereon by the 31st March, 1940.

Sir, the objects of the Bill as stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons are no doubt laudable, but I regret that these could not be achieved by the provisions of the Bill. Sir, if you look at the provisions of the Bill you will find that there is a provision only for the regulation and registration of the market for agricultural produce in Bengal but there is no provision to improve the existing marketing arrangements in the interests of the original producers and ultimate consumers. There is only provision for regulation and registration of the markets and for the establishment of a Marketing Committee. It seems clear that the object of establishing a Marketing Committee is only to distribute further patronage for political consideration. Government will nominate certain members for this Committee and thereby they will be in a position to distribute their patronage for political consideration. We, Sir, could have welcomed a Bill the object of which is to regulate the price of commodities, so that the producers of the commodities may get the real value for the commodities, but, as a matter of fact, this Bill does not aim at it. If you will be pleased to look into this Bill you will find that it only says that the markets will be registered thereby imposing certain tax upon the owners of the market. It is further stated that there will be a Marketing Committee in a particular notified area and election would be made by certain members of the Union Board and some persons will be nominated by Government. We know from our past experience that when Government reserve the power of nominating members they always do it on political considerations, and they do not nominate the best persons available. Sir, we the members on this side would have welcomed a Bill the provisions of which coincided with the objects mentioned in the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

Now, Sir, the Hon'ble Minister has referred to some replies received from District Boards and Municipalities approving the provisions of the Bill. I have personally looked into some of the reports and it seems to me that they have not stated any reason for their approval. As far as my district is concerned, the municipalities have stated that they have only approved but have not given any reasons. But those Associations which have not approved the Bill have given very weighty reasons for not doing so. Persons who have given their approval have not thought over the matter and have not given any attention to it. They have simply been enamoured of the name Agricultural Produce Markets Bill. In my opinion Government should give their consideration to the reasons of those who did not approve the Bill and should

find out if they can come forward with a comprehensive Bill which will serve the object enunciated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

I think, Sir, that the Hon'ble Minister has read the reasons given by the British Indian Association, Calcutta, for not approving the Bill and the reasons given by them are certainly weighty. I do not oppose this Bill for the sake of opposition but we have got to see that the Bill serves the purpose for which it has been meant, namely, that it becomes beneficial to the producers of commodities. We want the producers to get proper prices for their commodities and that middlemen do not take advantage of the ignorance of the position of the market. So I suggest that the Bill be re-circulated.

The motion of Mr. Dhirendra Nath Datta that the Bengal Agricultural Produce Markets Bill, 1939, be re-circulated for the purpose of eliciting further opinion thereon by the 31st March, 1940, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan that the Bengal Agricultural Produce Markets Bill, 1939, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) Maulvi Idris Ahmed Mia,

(2) Mr. Sadaruddin Ahmed,

(3) Maulvi Muhammad Ishaque,

(4) Maulvi Md. Abdus Shaheed,

(5) Khan Bahadur Maulvi Kabiruddin Khan,

(6) Dr. Sanaullah,

(7) Khan Sahib Hamiduddin Ahmad,

(8) Mr. G. Morgan,

(9) Mr. J. W. R. Steven,

(10) Babu Madhusudan Sarkar,

(11) Mr. Birendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury,

(12) Mr. Iswar Chandra Mal,

(13) Mr. Surendra Nath Biswas,

(14) Mr. Kshetra Nath Singha,

(15) Mr. Pratul Chandra Ganguly,

(16) Mr. Gyasuddin Ahmed, and

(17) the mover,

with instructions to submit their report by the 30th June, 1940, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at five, was then put and agreed to.

Mr. SPEAKER: That finishes to-day's agenda.

Remarks on the Chair by Mr. Syed Nausher Ali.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I adjourn to-night I consider it my painful duty to refer to the unpleasant incident which took place yesterday. It is extremely painful for a Speaker in his position as such to take any step which concerns him. I can assure the House that, whether it is a member to my left or to my right, it gives me the greatest pain if I have to take action against him. But I am unfortunately in such a position that so far as the House is concerned I have got to see that the House functions properly and the House can only function properly if there is implicit obedience to the decisions of the Chair. If that is not done the House will not be able to function at all. It is because of that that it is necessary that the decision of the Chair has got to be obeyed. Whether the Speaker is right or wrong it is for the time being immaterial, because there are courses open by which the House can always take necessary steps if the Speaker is wrong.

Now, I have the painful necessity of holding that the remarks of Mr. Nausher Ali, in spite of the fact that I gave him an opportunity yesterday to reconsider the remarks he made on the Chair, tantamount to a parliamentary breach of privilege of this House, and if these things are permitted to go on I feel that the House would not be able to function properly. It is with a view that the House should function that I feel it my duty to hold, and I say this after considerable discussion with the members of different parties and groups—that Mr. Nausher Ali's conduct was such that it deserves a decision from the Chair in regard to his remarks made yesterday and that he is suspended from the House till the present session is over.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: On a point of order, Sir. So far as the censure on the member is concerned, it is not for me to question it. On the contrary I feel, and I have made no secret of it, that the language employed by Mr. Nausher Ali with reference to you was not proper. But as regards the sentence you have inflicted, may I draw your attention to rule 16 of the Assembly Rules?

Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI: Sir, may I have your permission to say that I cannot hear you properly from here and I wish to go to a seat near you so that I can hear what you say—even the accused has a right to hear the judgment.

Mr. SPEAKER: Oh yes, you have complete freedom up till now and since the point has been raised by Mr. Bose I might reconsider the matter after going through the whole position.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: It is an important point of order, Sir, because rule 16 purports to carry into effect the provisions of section 71 of the Government of India Act and section 71 in sub-section (*3*) says this:

"Nothing in any existing Indian law, and notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this section, nothing in this Act, shall be construed as conferring, or empowering any Legislature to confer, on a Chamber thereof or on both Chambers sitting together or any committee or officer of the Legislature, the status of a court, or any punitive or disciplinary powers other than the power to remove or exclude persons infringing the rules or standing orders, or otherwise behaving in a disorderly manner". Sir, I have made it clear that so far as your censure on the member is concerned it has got to be accepted by him. But as to how your power is to be exercised it is governed by rule 16 and it is to be exercised in the manner prescribed therein. Rule 16, sub-section (*2*) says:

"He may direct any member whose conduct is in his opinion grossly disorderly to withdraw immediately from the Assembly, and any member so ordered to withdraw shall do so forthwith and shall absent himself during the remainder of the day's meeting * * * *". You have already expressed your opinion on the conduct of the member and I have made it clear that I do not question it. But as regards the sentence passed on him, my submission is that it is laid down in sub-section (*2*) of rule 16 that ".....the member shall absent himself during the remainder of the day's meeting". But "if any member is ordered to withdraw a second time in the same session, the Speaker may direct the member to absent himself from the meetings of the Assembly

for any period not longer than the remainder of the session". That portion of the rule requires a condition precedent and the condition precedent is stated there.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am not working under this rule, I am working under the power of the House and I have got to see that the House functions properly.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: As regards that, you may remember that during the discussion we had in your Chamber some time ago it was pointed out that there were grave doubts on that point.

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope I will not be misunderstood when I say that if the Speaker has not the power to take such action as he deems proper against any member whose conduct is considered by him to be a violation of the dignity of the Chair, it is for this House to consider whether any steps should be taken or not in the matter.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Sir, so far as the power of the Chair is concerned, it has been absolutely laid down in rule 16. Therefore the question that you have not got power does nor arise at all. Whatever action you have taken should have been taken yesterday——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I think this is a matter which concerns only the members of the House. So the Press reporters should withdraw and the visitors' gallery should be cleared before we proceed with this matter.

I think this is a matter which should be discussed amongst the members. So, I would ask that the Press gallery and the visitors' gallery be cleared.

(The Press gallery and the visitors' gallery cleared.)

Mr. PROMATHA NATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as my Leader has made it quite clear, there is no question about the impropriety of the language used. The only question is the question of sentence. So far as the powers of the Speaker for the present are concerned, they are defined by Parliamentary Statute and the rules framed under the Parliamentary Statute.

The second question, Sir, which has been raised is this, that if the Hon'ble the Speaker has not got the power to take these steps which are being proposed to be taken to-night, then the House has got the inherent right to deal with that point. Sir, in this connection, will

you kindly refer to a decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council? Sir, I am talking from memory. I did not realise that this matter was coming up to-night, but the name of the case is the Speaker of the House of South Australia *versus* Glause. I think, Sir, you will find it reported in 1872. I shall be quite prepared to give you the reference to-morrow, if you so please. According to that decision, no House of Legislature with the exception of the Houses of Parliament in England, has got any inherent right to deal with questions of privilege, unless such privileges are expressly conferred on that House by statute. In this particular instance, Sir, what happened was the Speaker of the House of South Wales in Australia ordered the expulsion of a certain member (Mr. SPEAKER: I know that.) So, you are familiar with the case. Therefore, Sir, I submit that this House by its power has no right to alter the Government of India Act as promulgated under the Act of 1935. If that position is sound, then whatever the feelings of the House may be, the House has not got the power. I know, Sir, that under the Government of India Act, 1935, as also has been laid down in the famous case of Bradlaugh *vs.* Gosset, whatever takes place within the walls of the House is not liable to be challenged before a Court of competent jurisdiction. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it becomes all the more incumbent upon you to consider fully the question of sentence which you are going to pass upon a certain member of the House. Therefore, Sir, I suggest that you had given your censure, and so far as the question of fact is concerned, the conduct was not disorderly, but the language used was improper. Therefore, Sir, the justice of the case, I appeal to you, will be sufficiently met by not attempting to stretch the powers either of the Speaker or of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, I am very sorry; but I must say that this is a matter which I was most reluctant to consider myself. If it were not for the fact—I will not mention their names—that in my Chamber there was a discussion between certain members of the different groups, I would not have taken up this matter. It is because of that discussion I thought that there would be no objection from any side of this House. Personally I can assure the House that I am well aware, more than anybody else, of the weak position which the Speaker of the House has got in dealing with such matters; I know that perfectly well, I was therefore very reluctant to take any steps as regards the sentence, and I was all along in favour of leaving the matter to the decision of the House. It was not because the Speaker had not enough power within him, but it is because I knew the legal disabilities under which the House suffers, and it is because of that legal disability that immediately this question arose I thought the matter should better be left to the House. Since then, certain discussions took place in my Chamber between certain members of the House representing different groups—who those

members are, it is only fair that I should not mention—and because of that I was completely misled into the present position which I have been put to. I have passed my decision so far as the question of censure alone is concerned.

Adjournment.

It being 7-17 p.m.

The House was adjourned till 4-45 p.m. on Wednesday, the 20th December, 1939, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 20th December, 1939, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, 7 Hon'ble Ministers and 224 members.

Non-receipt of questions.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, may I bring to your notice the fact that we have not yet received printed questions that are going to be answered to-day? It is very difficult for us to ask supplementary questions if we want to, unless we get them in time.

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, they are being distributed.

We will now take up unstarred questions of yesterday.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Dealings of the police towards the public.

30. **Mr. PRATUL CHANDRA GANGULI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether any orders or instructions have been issued laying how the police is to deal with the public?

(*b*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the same?

(*c*) What are the penalties, if any, for disobeying the orders?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwajá Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) A copy of rule 5 of Police Regulations, Bengal, Volume I, containing instructions to the Bengal Police regarding their behaviour towards the public is laid on the table. Similar instructions have also been issued to the Calcutta Police.

(c) The penalities are—

(i) Deprivation of approved service increment.

(ii) Removal from any office of distinction or special emolument.

(iii) Entry of black mark against the name.

(iv) Censure or reprimand.

(v) Confinement to barracks (only for head constables and constables).

(vi) Reduction of pay.

(vii) Removal from service.

(viii) Dismissal.

The punishment given in any particular case would depend on the nature of the offence.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (b) of unstarred question No. 30.

EXTRACT FROM POLICE REGULATIONS, BENGAL, VOLUME I.

5. *Behaviour towards the public.*—No police force can perform its duties with success unless it can win the respect and good feeling and secure the co-operation of the public. To this end, the exercise of forbearance, civility and courtesy towards all classes is enjoined on every rank. Firmness in the execution of duty is essential, but rudeness, harshness and brutality are forbidden and will be severely punished. The superior officers of the police shall not only observe courteous and conciliatory demeanour themselves, but on all occasions endeavour to inculcate in their subordinates the necessity of rendering the performance of their duties as little distasteful to the people as possible. It is the duty of all superior officers to take immediate notice of all cases of discourtesy or harsh and overbearing conduct with a view to the punishment of the offenders. No officer should be recommended for promotion who habitually disregards the instructions in this rule.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to question (a), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state as to when the Police Regulations in question were promulgated and when similar instructions were issued to the Calcutta Police?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I want notice.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state in how many cases action has been taken against Police Officers and policemen in Calcutta for non-compliance with the instructions similar to those that were issued to the Calcutta Police?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: This also, Sir, is a question for which I want notice.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there have been any cases of dismissal of policemen for non-compliance of the instructions either in Calcutta or in the mofussil?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I want notice.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister please enlighten us whether any police officer in Calcutta has been punished in either of the ways mentioned in the list—ever since the adoption of this Police Regulation?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I want notice, similarly.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if not a single police officer or any subordinate officer has violated any such regulation and that is why no officer has been punished up to now?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I beg to submit, Sir, that this question hardly arises out of the original one. The question is "whether any orders or instructions have been issued laying down how the police should deal with the public, and now it is asked whether any subordinate police officer has been punished for violating those orders or instructions. It is impossible to answer such a question without notice even if it arose.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: May I submit, Sir, that my question as to whether any subordinate police officer has been punished for violation of these rules comes within the jurisdiction of the question? But is it your ruling, Sir, that this question does not arise?

Mr. SPEAKER: Apart from the question whether it arises out of the main question or not, the Hon'ble Minister has said that he cannot answer it without notice.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: The difficulty is that, Sir, as the Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy is not conversant with Home Department affairs he finds himself unable to answer these supplementary questions, so may I suggest that these questions be left over?

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that in this very House the Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin, the Home Minister, openly stated that he himself on one occasion was ill-treated by certain police officers?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Let me complete my question, Sir. In view of that admission on the part of the Home Minister, does not the question of punishment arise?

Mr. SPEAKER: In view of the Hon'ble Minister's inability to answer this question without notice I do not think you can put in this question again.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: As the Hon'ble the Home Minister himself admitted that he himself was once ill-treated——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. As I have already stated this question does not arise.

Distinction between Indian and British Degrees in the matter of appointments.

31. Maulana MD. MANIRUZZAMAN ISLAMABADI: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department aware of the fact that the Government of Bombay have recently issued a Note to the effect that no distinction is to be made between Indian and British Degrees in the matter of appointments?

(*b*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is in the contemplation of Government to issue a similar note in the interest of the province?

(*c*) How many officers of the Education Department both in the inspecting and teaching lines have been trained in England—

(*i*) at Government cost; and

(*ii*) at their own cost?

(*d*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that preference is given by the Education Department to those holding British Degrees or Diplomas in supersession of the claims of senior, experienced and duly qualified officers of the department in the matter of promotion and appointment?

(*e*) If the answer to (*d*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons for such differential treatment?

(*f*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Teachers' Training Colleges in Bengal are sufficiently well-equipped to produce good and efficient teachers.

(*g*) If not, what steps, if any, he proposes to take in the matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq): (*a*) I have been told so and I have asked for a copy of the Note.

(*b*) I cannot say until I have seen the Note.

(*c*) (*i*) 15 and (*ii*) 80.

(*d*) This is not so. If those who hold British Degrees or Diplomas are on examination of the relative claims of candidates considered to be superior they receive preference.

(*e*) and (*g*) Do not arise.

(*f*) Our training colleges are equipped as well as can be done with our limited finances. They produce on the main good and efficient teachers, but they are not as good as similar training establishments in Great Britain.

Primary schools in Bengal.

32. **Maulana MD. MANIRUZZAMAN ISLAMABADI:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the number of primary schools throughout the province before the operation of the Primary Education Act of 1930;

(*b*) the number of primary schools throughout the province before the imposition of the Education Cess;

(*c*) the number of primary schools at present existing in the province;

(*d*) the number of primary schools which will be retained when the Primary Education Cess is imposed under the proposed scheme; and

(*e*) the distance and area to be served by each primary school under the proposed scheme?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq): (*a*) The number of primary schools in the province before the operation of the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act of 1930 was 64,320.

(*b*) The number of primary schools in the province before the cess was introduced in Mymensingh in 1937 was 61,517.

(*c*) 55,852.

(*d*) The number will be determined after a careful survey of local needs.

(*e*) The area to be served by a primary school will depend on the population of the area. The area will not ordinarily exceed 3·14 square miles so that the maximum distance that a child will have to cover will be a mile.

Ramzan holidays.

33. Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Finance Department aware that Muslim public are experiencing difficulties for the non-holidays of the last part of the holy *Ramzan*?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, are the Government considering the desirability of declaring in Bengal the last ten days of the holy *Ramzan* in each year as holidays?

MINISTER in charge of the FINANCE DEPARTMENT: (*a*) No.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Selection of Pakundia High Madrassah as a Guru-training Centre.

34. Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Pakundia High Madrassah has not been selected as the centre of *guru*-training?

(*b*) If so, what are the reasons?

(*c*) Did the Hon'ble Minister receive any complaint from the Pakundia Thana Primary Teachers' Association and the local M.L.A. on the subject?

(*d*) If so, what action, if any, have Government taken in the matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq): (*a*) and (*c*) Yes.

(*b*) and (*d*) I am looking into the matter.

Kadam Mubarik and Sultan Baizid Bostami Wakf Estates in Chittagong.

35. Maulana MD. MANIRUZZAMAN ISLAMBADI: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education (Registration) Department be pleased to state whether the Kadam Mubarik Wakf Estate and the Sultan Baizid Bostami Estate in Chittagong have been enrolled with the Commissioner of Wakfs in Bengal?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the area of the landed property in each case—

(*i*) before the time of the Resumption Proceedings in the British Period;

(*ii*) after the Resumption Proceedings; and

(*iii*) the area of land resumed by Government in each case during the Resumption Proceedings?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) I regret I have not been able to obtain the information in time.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons of his not being able to obtain the information about assets of the two distinguished and important wakf estates in the district of Chittagong?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: Sir, the time was rather short and it was therefore not possible to get that information.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Commissioner of Wakfs has got the information or not?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: Government have not got the information and it is doubtful whether the Commissioner of Wakfs has.

Hangar khal canalisation in police-station Satkania and extension of Barguani khal in police-station Patiya in Chittagong.

38. Maulana MD. MANIRUZZAMAN ISLAMABADI: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department be pleased to state what further steps, if any, have been taken about—

(*i*) the canalisation of Hangar *khal* in police-station Satkania; and

(*ii*) the extension of Barguani *khal* in police-station Patiya, in the district of Chittagong?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons therefor?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMUNICATIONS and WORKS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Maharaja Srischandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar): (*a*) Detailed investigations are being made.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Curtailment of privileges enjoyed by political prisoners.

37. Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that some of the privileges enjoyed by the political prisoners have recently been withheld or curtailed creating discontent among such prisoners; and

(*ii*) that the interview room recently constructed in Dum Dum Central Jail is too small to accommodate the number of visitors allowed under the Jail Code?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*ii*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the measurement of the space intended to accommodate the visitors?

(*c*) Has a new arrangement been made in the said interview room under which a screen stands interposed between the interviewer and the prisoner interviewed which does not permit a full view of the latter?

(*d*) Has a Dental Surgeon been appointed for the treatment of political prisoners?

(*e*) If so, when?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) (*i*) No authorised privilege enjoyed by terrorist prisoners has recently been withheld or curtailed.

(*ii*) No.

(*b*) 3 feet by 4½ feet by 6½ feet.

(*c*) No.

(*d*) Administrative sanction has been accorded to a scheme for giving dental treatment to prisoners including terrorist prisoners and effect will be given to this scheme when funds are provided.

(*e*) Does not arise.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the interviewers can be accommodated in a small room measuring 3′ × 4½′?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: That depends, Sir, very much on the size of the visitors.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what he means by the word "authorised" in his answer (*a*) (*i*), viz., "No authorized privilege enjoyed by terrorist prisoners has recently been withheld or curtailed"?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Apparently there were some privileges which the terrorist prisoners exercised, but which were not authorised by the Jail Code.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Are we to understand that those privileges were allowed to the terrorist prisoners without the consent of the jail authorities?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Simply there were some privileges which these prisoners exercised.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons for curtailing those privileges now?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: They were curtailed because they were unauthorised.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in view of the fact that these prisoners enjoyed these privileges for a long time, Government are not prepared to restore them?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I have said that these privileges were unauthorised and that we are now applying the rules rather strictly.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when it came to the notice of Government that these terrorist prisoners were enjoying these "unauthorised" privileges?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: That is rather difficult to say.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to take it from me that these privileges were being enjoyed by the terrorist prisoners for a long time ever since the opening of the Dum Dum Jail, and in view of this fact would he be pleased to reconsider the decision of Government and allow these prisoners to

continue to enjoy those privileges which are now considered to be unauthorised?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: They may have enjoyed these privileges for a long time, but still they were unauthorised and I do not see any reason why an unauthorised privilege should be turned into an authorised privilege because such a privilege has been exercised for a considerable time!

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that these prisoners were allowed to write a second letter in lieu of the monthly interview?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Yes.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Was that an authorised or an unauthorised privilege?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, this has been construed as an unauthorised privilege.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to read the Jail Code and refer us to the rules under which this privilege has been construed as an unauthorised privilege?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, we have been reading the rules and are considering whether the interpretation is correct or not.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps are being taken with a view to treat the large number of prisoners repatriated from the Andamans who are now suffering from pyorrhea in the meanwhile pending final sanction of provision for their dental treatment?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am afraid the question of suffering from pyorrhea does not come in.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Here the answer says "administrative sanction has been accorded to a scheme for giving dental treatment to prisoners including terrorist prisoners and effect will be given to this scheme when funds are provided". Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps, pending all these arrangements, Government is going to take in the meantime to accord adequate treatment to those prisoners repatriated from the Andamans who are suffering from dental troubles, e.g., pyorrhea?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I am not aware that any risoner from the Andamans is suffering from pyorrhea.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: My question has not en answered?

Mr. SPEAKER: You are assuming that these prisoners are suffering om pyorrhea. First ask if they are suffering from pyorrhea.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: The Hon'ble Minister id "he is not aware that any person is so suffering." I ask him hat steps is the Government taking, pending the final acceptance of is scheme, to accord adequate treatment to those suffering from dental mplaints?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Most of these places have t hospitals and dispensaries, and if any person is suffering from othache, which requires the tooth to be taken out, it can be taken out ere.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Are there any dental perts in the dental hospital at the present moment?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I do not think so.

Allegati[illegible]ainst Chairman of Islamkati Debt Settlement Board, Khulna.

38. Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble nister in charge of the Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness partment aware—

(*i*) that one Babu Abala Kanta Ghose, Chairman of the Debt Settlement Board of Islamkati Union in Tala police-station in the district of Khulna, is the only recognised and biggest money-lender of the locality;

(*ii*) that a definite allegation was made against him as Chairman of the said Debt Settlement Board regarding defalcation of money in the special appellate office local Munsiff Court and in the Satkhira Special Debt Settlement Board; and

(*iii*) that an enquiry was held by the Subdivisional Officer of Satkhira as per order of the District Judge of Khulna regarding the abovementioned allegation against the Chairman of the Debt Settlement Board?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*iii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what was the result of the enquiry held by the Subdivisiona Officer of Satkhira; and

(*ii*) whether it is in the contemplation of Government to cance his appointment as a Chairman?

MINISTER in charge of the CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT and RURAI INDEBTEDNESS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behar Mullick): (*a*) (*i*) and (*ii*) No.

(*iii*) and (*b*) (*i*) Do not arise.

(*ii*) No.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: May I enquire whether th Hon'ble Minister has any further statement to make in addition to th answer he has already given?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: I will add this that there was no definite allegation about the defalcation of the money but that the Special Appellate Officer made an observation with regar to the irregularities committed by the Board in connection with a deposit On that an enquiry was made by the Circle Officer under the directio of the Collector and it transpired that it was a case of *bona fide* mistake

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: May I enquire whether th Hon'ble Minister in his previous reply deliberately suppressed the fact and made a misstatement of facts? Here I have a copy of the judgmen of the Court.

Mr. SPEAKER: The first question does not arise. But as regard your question whether he has made a misstatement he says that ther was no case of defalcation, and the Special Appellate Officer passed a remark on some irregularities.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: On a point of order, Sir May I know whether it is in your province to send this particular ques tion to the Privileges Committee where I can read out the judgment o the Court?

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot say anything now. You place it befor me and I will see to it.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Will the Hon'ble Ministe be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Munsif of Satkhir remarked that a sum of Rs. 30 was taken by the Chairman of the Boar by coercion?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: I am not aware of it.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to make an enquiry whether the order of the Munsif is that a sum of Rs. 30 was taken by the Chairman by coercion?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: If the honourable member desires we will make a further enquiry into the matter; it was once done.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Will the Hon'ble Minister take the copy of the judgment from me?

Mr. SPEAKER: You can give it to me.

Members of Gaibandha Central Co-operative Bank Special Debt Settlement Board.

39. Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing-

(*i*) the qualifications of each of the members of Gaibandha Central Co-operative Bank Special Debt Settlement Board; and

(*ii*) the special reason, if any, for which they were so appointed?

(*b*) If it is a fact that instructions were issued to the officers concerned to consult the local M.L.A.'s before names for such appointments were sent up?

(*c*) Is it a fact that a local M.L.A. was consulted by the Debt Settlement Board Special Officer?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what were his suggestions?

(*e*) Have the suggestions of the local M.L.A. been accepted?

(*f*) If the suggestions have not been accepted will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons therefor?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: (*a*) (*i*) A statement is laid on the table.

(*ii*) They were found suitable and proper.

(*b*) Officers have been instructed to consider any suggestions made in this behalf by the members of the Legislature as also by representative non-official gentlemen.

(*c*) Yes.

(*d*) I regret, it is not considered desirable in public interests to disclose such details.

(*e*) His suggestions were partially accepted.

(*f*) Because they were found to be undesirable by the local officers.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (a) (i) of unstarred question No. 39.

1. Chairman—Inspector, Co-operative Societies, Gaibandha (*ex-officio*).

2. Maulvi Md. Umaruddin, Assistant Secretary, Gaibandha Central Co-operative Bank.

3. Maulvi Sefait Uddin Ahmed, retired Sheristadar, Sub-Judge's Court, Rangpur; President, Boali Union Board; President, 'Boali Union Bench and Court; President, Gaibandha Subdivisional Union Boards' Association; a big jotedar, holding high position in society.

4. Babu Harendra Narayan Barman, Secretary, Gaibandha Brick, Banking and Trading Company, Ltd., member, Chhaparhati Co-operative Society.

5. Maulvi Sayadar Rahaman Khan, tahsildar of a local landlord, an honest and hardworking man.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: With reference to answer (*a*) (*ii*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state who made the final decision in selecting the candidates?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: The Commissioner of the Division.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how he reconciles the two answers given in (*c*) and (*f*)?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: As I read the answer along with the question it seems to me that what happened with regard to the suggestions made by the honourable member was that they were partially accepted and as regards the other suggestions they were found to be undesirable by the local officers.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state who are the gentlemen who were taken into the Board according to the suggestion of the M.L.A. concerned?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: Is it desirable that I should communicate the names of the gentlemen? I have given a full statement of the names of all the members of this Board.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is for you to decide.

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: I have given the names of all the members and I submit with all respect to you, Sir, that it would not be proper for me to name the particular gentleman who has been accepted at the suggestion of the honourable member of this House.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister take it from me that none of his suggestions were accepted and there is no name in the list as suggested by the member?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: I submit, that is not correct.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: With reference to answer (*f*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why those gentlemen were considered undesirable?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: An enquiry was made by the Circle Officer at the instance of the Collector and his report showed that they were not suitable for appointment as members of the Board.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state who was the final authority in this particular case to decide the desirability or undesirability with respect to a particular candidate for membership of the Board?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: I have already said that it is the Commissioner of the Division; but he has to act on the report of the Local Officers.

Appointment of officers in connection with Jute Registration work in Mymensingh.

40. Mr. AMRITA LAL MANDAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing (*a*) the number, and (*b*) the names of the officers appointed in the different grades (*e.g.*, Chief Inspector, Inspector, Clerk, Area copyist, etc.), of the Jute Registration Department at—

(*a*) Mymensingh sadar;

(*b*) Tangail subdivision; and

(*c*) Jamalpur subdivision?

MINISTER in charge of the AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan): Appointments have been made according to the Chief Inspectors' charges and not according to administrative subdivisions. Two statements showing (*a*) number of the various grades of officers, and (*b*) names of Chief Inspectors, Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors, appointed in Mymensingh, Tangail and Jamalpur charges and of the clerks and Area Section Officers the appointment of whom has so far been reported, are placed on the Library table. The compilation of a statement of the names of primary recorders, area section copyists and menials will involve an amount of labour and time which the Jute Registration staff cannot undertake without serious detriment to their normal work which has to be finished within a limited period.

Dwindling income from cess in Chittagong.

41. Khan Bahadur MD. ANWARUL AZIM: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department aware that cess income is dwindling every year in the district of Chittagong?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he proposes to take in the matter for compensating the local bodies of the district?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) Cess collections were comparatively small during the last three years.

(*b*) Vigorous attempt is being made by the local officers to improve collections and the realisation is expected to be normal with the improvement of the economic condition of the district.

Steps for stopping ejectment from non-agricultural lands.

42. Babu KSHETRA NATH SINCHA: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state whether Government have issued any communique for stopping ejectment from non-agricultural lands by landlords?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the landlords are issuing notices of ejectments and filing suits ignoring the communique?

(*c*) Is it a fact that in the town of Rangpur the Tajhat Court of Wards are seeking to be made parties in ejectment suits filed by the other co-sharer landlord Babu Bhupendra Narayan Chowdhury of Manthana?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action, if any, in the face of the communique he proposes to take in the matter?

(*e*) When do the Government propose to bring in before the Assembly the Non-Agricultural Lands Bill?

(*f*) Did the Government appoint a Select Committee for the purpose?

(*g*) If so, have the Committee ever functioned?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) Government has issued a communique to explain to landlords that they would prejudice their own case considerably by filing ejectment suits against their non-agricultural tenants with a view to forestall any future legislation for conferring better rights on those tenants.

(*b*) No.

(*c*) Yes, in a few cases.

(*d*) None, as the tenants proceeded against have refused to agree to pay a reasonable enhancement of rent although they have been paying for their respective tenancies rents at much too low a rate which compares very unfavourably with the prevailing rate for similar holdings in the locality.

(*e*) The desirability of a Bill to prevent evictions is now receiving the attention of Government.

(*f*) and (*g*) A Committee was appointed to enquire into the non-agricultural tenancies in the province on the 2nd August, 1938, and it has been functioning since then.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: With reference to answer (*g*), will the Hon'ble Minister enlighten us whether the Committee has been given instructions to enquire into the cases of Calcutta tenants as well?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I do not think so.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the Committee has been asked to include the tenants of Calcutta in their enquiry?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: That is not necessary as the Committee is at liberty to consider any question they like.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Has any definite instruction been given?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I do not think so.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of giving definite instruction to the Committee to enquire into the case of the Calcutta tenants who are suffering badly due to the enhancement of rent and ejectment?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: The original idea of the formation of the Committee was to look into the question of non-agricultural tenants excluding Calcutta.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister enlighten us whether the rent of the Calcutta tenants has gone up 50 times over what it was ten years ago?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: With reference to answer (*b*), I received a wire from the district of Tippera——

Mr. SPEAKER: That does not appear in the answer.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: I received a telegram that many ejectment suits are being instituted to eject the non-agricultural tenants. In view of this will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enquire into the matter?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Yes, it will be brought to the notice of the Department.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister enlighten us whether he thinks that the Calcutta tenants are all non-agricultural tenants?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: The position of Calcutta tenants is quite different.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: In what respects does it differ?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: In many respects.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of taking steps to stop suits for ejection, especially to stop the execution of decrees in suits instituted after June, 1939?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Government will watch the result of the issue of the communique and then act accordingly.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that on account of the issue of the communique many men have become nervous and have instituted suits for ejectment?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: That is not the information of Government.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister please enlighten us what are the reasons whereby he is differentiating the position of Calcutta tenants from that of other non-agricultural tenants of Bengal?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: It is obvious.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister please enlighten us whether Calcutta tenants' rent has been increased equally as the non-agricultural tenants' rent outside Calcutta?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Method of Answering Questions.

Mr. SPEAKER: Starred Question No. 109.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, before you proceed with to-day's questions may I ask you whether you have got sufficient powers to check the obstructive and objectionable tactics of Government in the method of answering questions. At the beginning of the session answers came by dribblets and to-day at the end of the session fifty questions are put in one day. Are they meant to be answered or poured down the throat of the Assembly. Sir, I draw your attention to this fact.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have no power to suspend a member from the service of the House as has been said yesterday.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, I take for example, Question No. 137E notice of which was given a fortnight before the Assembly sat, and to-day the answer is given that the Hon'ble Minister for Irrigation is making investigation and will give answer in due course.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as these things are concerned I may state that I will look into them in due course if the House so desires. As regards those questions which are answered but are not complete, it will be probably within my power to consider them if my attention is drawn to such questions.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, there are other questions of which notice was given about a fortnight before the Assembly sat and they are very important and involve controversial questions, but they have not been answered.

Mr. SPEAKER: To-day we have a long list and let us finish as many questions as we can.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: May I suggest one thing, Sir? It is entirely within your power to extend the question hour. The minimum time-limit is one hour and if you like you can extend it to three hours. There is no important business in the House to-day.

Mr. SPEAKER: What I will do is that after one hour is over I will finish the usual business for to-day, and if there is any time left then I will take up the questions.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries.

*109. **Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the reason for the appointment of the three Parliamentary Secretaries very recently;

(*ii*) the duties which have been assigned to each of them;

(*iii*) their academic and other qualifications, if any; and

(*iv*) the salary to be given to each of them?

(*b*) Is it in the contemplation of Government to appoint any more Parliamentary Secretaries?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) (*i*) and (*ii*) To assist the Ministers in their parliamentary work in the Legislature.

(iii) Membership of the Legislature. Parliamentary Secretaries are not appointed on their academic qualifications.

		Rs.
(iv) Mr Sahabuddin	...	1,000
Nawabzada Nasarullah	...	400
Mr. Mesbahuddin Ahmed	...	500

(b) Not at present.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the first two gentlemen named are the brothers of the two Ministers of the Cabinet, and the third gentleman is also a very near relative?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Government have no official information.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether relationship with the Hon'ble Ministers is considered to be one of the qualifications for being appointed Parliamentary Secretaries?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state in what language do these gentlemen conduct their business as Parliamentary Secretaries?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether they are sufficiently versed in English language?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise. I will ask you to remember that whereas it may be that some members may think that the question time is such which you may utilise for the purpose for which it is intended, certain persons do not utilise it for that purpose.

Next question.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: I have other supplementary questions. Will you kindly allow me to put them?

Mr. SPEAKER: No. I have called the next.

Offences against women in this Province.

***110. Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Police) Department be pleased to state whether in view of the figures disclosed in answer to unstarred question No. 100 of the 28th March, 1939, the Government are contemplating any steps to meet the gravity of the situation arising out of the substantial increase in the number of offences against women in recent years?

(*b*) Whether in view of the fact that such cases have increased from 825 in 1934 to 1,015 in 1938, the Hon'ble Minister is considering the advisability of taking further measures for controlling such offences?

(*c*) Whether in view of the fact that in spite of large increase in the number of such cases fewer cases ended in conviction and of the further fact that out of 4,456 cases reported during the last quinquennium only 1,496 ended in conviction the Government contemplate appointment of a small Committee of Judicial Officers with a Judge or ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court as Chairman—

(*i*) to enquire and report why the offenders in nearly two-thirds of the reported cases escaped conviction; and

(*ii*) to suggest what steps should be taken to prevent such failure of justice?

(*d*) Whether the Government is considering the desirability of amending the law so as to include persons who house and shelter offenders in such cases within the category of abettors?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) and (*b*) The attention of the honourable member is drawn to answer to (*b*) of starred question No. 425 of the 9th May, 1939. In view of what is stated therein Government do not consider that any further step in the matter is necessary.

(*c*) and (*d*) No.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether these cases are increasing by leaps and bounds in spite of the attention of police officers?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: It is really a matter of opinion as to what is the exact significance of "leaps and bounds".

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, my question has not been answered at all. My question was whether Government is contemplating taking any step in view of large number of increased

cases in recent years. Government in its reply has referred me to the answer given to Question No. 425 of the 9th May, 1939. The answer runs as follows: "The Inspector-General of Police, Bengal——

Mr. SPEAKER: I remember it.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: My supplementary question is whether it is a fact that these cases have increased in spite of the attention of police officers. Government ought to give a straight answer, yes or no.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: The figures show that the cases have increased, but I do not accept that they have increased by leaps and bounds.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Whether it is a fact or not that these cases have increased from 825 in 1934 to 1,015 in 1938, that is in three years an increase——

Mr. SPEAKER: You can ask supplementary questions on new figures after the 9th of May, but you cannot ask them from before that date.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: The Hon'ble Minister is avoiding an answer to that question. He has referred me to the fact that the Inspector-General of Police and the Commissioner of Police are fully alive to the situation. My further question is whether these cases have been increasing in spite of the attention of the police officers or not? If that is so I would ask if further steps are necessary.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Government do not consider that further steps are necessary. The steps that are being taken are quite adequate to meet the situation.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact or not that in spite of these steps cases are increasing?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, the numbers show the cases are increasing, the cases being the number of complaints that are made, and not necessarily incidents.

Recruitment of Calcutta Police Sub-Inspectors.

*111. **Mr. PATIRAM ROY:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that an announcement was made by the Government of Bengal that a few Sub-Inspectors of Police will be recruited for Calcutta;

(*ii*) that applications were invited from all the sections of people and forms of applications for the posts were given separately to the Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes, and the Muhammadans;

(*iii*) that candidates from each group were called for interview;

(*iv*) that after the interview a number of candidates from each group were sent for medical examination;

(*v*) that two candidates from the Scheduled Castes came out successful in the medical examination; and

(*vi*) that no candidate has been recruited from the Scheduled Castes?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) on what basis the recruitment was made; and

(*ii*) the reason for not appointing any candidate from the Scheduled Castes?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government intend to maintain the service ratio for the Scheduled Castes?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin) (*a*), (*i*) to (*iv*) Yes.

(*v*) Three candidates from the members of the Scheduled Castes were declared fit.

(*vi*) One candidate was appointed.

(*b*) (*i*) Out of 13 vacancies, four were filled by promotion of three Hindu and one Muhammadan candidates. The other vacancies were filled by the direct appointment of five Muhammadans, three Hindus and one Scheduled Castes.

(*ii*) Does not arise.

(*c*) Yes.

Communal proportions of Police Officers in Jalpaiguri.

*112. **Babu KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Police) Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing for the district of Jalpaiguri—

(*a*) the present total number of Circle Inspectors of Police and permanent officers in charge of police-stations;

(*b*) the number of them that are—

(*i*) Hindus,

(*ii*) Muslims; and

(*c*) the total number of Circle Inspectors of Police and permanent officers in charge of police-stations who were (1) Hindus and (2) Muslims, in April, 1937?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): A statement is laid on the table.

Statement referred to in the reply to starred question No. 112.

Date and year.	Number of Circle Inspectors.		Number of Officers in charge of police-stations.	
	Hindu.	Muslim.	Hindu.	Muslim.
27th November, 1939 ..	1	2	9	8
1st April, 1937 ..	1	2	7	10

Appointment of Sub-Inspector of Police in Mymensingh.

*113. **Mr. MONMOHAN DAS:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Police) Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Government have recently invited applications for the appointment of the Police Sub-Inspectors in Mymensingh?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the total number of appointments made; and

(*ii*) the number of persons appointed from the—

(1) Caste Hindus,

(2) Scheduled Castes, and

(3) Muhammadans?

(*c*) If no appointment has been made from the Scheduled Castes, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason thereof?

(*d*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that during the last 20 years none from the Scheduled Castes has been appointed as Sub-Inspector of Police in Mymensingh?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) and (*c*) No appointments have been made.

(*d*) The information is not readily available.

Incidence of rents in permanently-settled estates.

***114. Maulvi ABDUL HAKIM:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state whether a statement showing the incidence of revenue per acre in all permanently-settled estates for each district of Bengal excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts has been forwarded by the Secretary, Rent Enquiry Committee, on the 25th February, 1939, to the members of the said Committee?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state from what source the aforesaid incidence of revenue per acre for each district has been collected?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) From columns 3 and 4 of Appendix 1A of the Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Presidency of Bengal for the year 1936-37 (page 24).

Higher grade posts held by different communities in Burdwan Collectorate.

***115. Maulvi ABUL HASHIM:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing—

(*i*) the present number of higher grade posts, including the post of the Office Superintendent, Head Assistant, Accountant and Treasury Stamp Clerk in the Burdwan Collectorate;

(*ii*) the number of such posts held by—

(1) Muslims,

(2) Scheduled Castes,

(3) Caste Hindus, and

(4) others;

(*iii*) the number of Muslims who have held such posts within the last ten years; and

(*iv*) the number of Muslims at present holding any such post?

(*b*) When did the last Muslim holding such a post retire?

(*c*) How many of such posts have been filled up since the retirement of the last Muslim by promotion from—

(*i*) Muslims;

(*ii*) Scheduled Castes;

(*iii*) Caste Hindus; and

(*iv*) others?

(*d*) What was the position of the promoted clerks in the gradation list at the time of such promotion?

(*e*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether claims of senior Muslim clerks were considered in cases of such promotions?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) (*i*) 17.

(*ii*) and (*iv*) All held by Caste Hindus.

(*iii*) One.

(*b*) December, 1929.

(*c*) There were altogether 19 occasions to fill up the vacancies in these posts and all of them were filled up by Caste Hindus.

(*d*)

From Lower Division to Upper Division.	From Upper Division to Selection Grade.
9	
47	8
40	4
26	9
11	2
40	5
13	7
3	5
2	
5	
107	
22	

(*e*) Yes.

Maulvi ABUL HASHIM: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why no Muslim could be found in these ten years since 1929 to fill these posts?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Possibly suitable candidates were not available.

Maulvi ABUL HASHIM: Is it a fact that when senior Muslims were found the question of efficiency was raised to avoid them, and when efficient Muslims were found the question of seniority was raised?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is an argument.

Appointment of Muhammadans in the Rajshahi Divisional Commissioner's office.

***116. Khan Bahadur Maulvi HASHEM ALI KHAN:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether rule 58 of the Board's Miscellaneous Rules in respect of appointment of Muhammadans is strictly observed in the office of the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division; and

(*b*) if not, what are the reasons?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Appointment of a Muhammadan Personal Assistant in the office of the Commissioner, Rajshahi Division.

***117. Khan Bahadur Maulvi HASHEM ALI KHAN:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department aware that since the creation of the office of the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division—

(*i*) no Muhammadan has ever been posted as Personal Assistant to the Commissioner; and

(*ii*) neither any Muhammadan has ever been appointed in the Upper Division nor has the requisite percentage of the Muhammadan clerks in the office been reached?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the reason therefor; and

(*ii*) what action, if any, do the Government propose taking in the matter?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) (*i*) No Muhammadan has been appointed to the post during the last 28 years; records of appointments before that date are not readily available.

(*ii*) One Muslim clerk has been promoted to the Upper Division from 1st November, 1939. The number of ministerial posts in the Commissioner's office is 30. Of these 11 are held by Muslims, a percentage of 36·7 which is not below the requisite percentage, as it used to be till the recent decision of Government about communal ratio in public services.

(*b*) As regards the Personal Assistant, in such appointments communal considerations are not taken into consideration.

As regards the ministerial appointments the existing rules have been complied with.

Administration of estates of disqualified proprietors by Court of Wards.

*118. **Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing for the year 1938 up to October, 1939—

(*i*) the number of disqualified proprietors' estates which have been taken over by the Court of Wards;

(*ii*) the names of the estates and the disqualified proprietors with the respective dates of their applications;

(*iii*) the date when the estate or estates were taken charge of by the Court of Wards; and

(*iv*) the names of the estate or estates with the names of the disqualified proprietor or proprietors whose petitions for taking over charge by the Court of Wards were refused during the period?

(*b*) What are the main factors taken into consideration in granting or refusing petitions for assumption of charges of private estates by the Court of Wards?

(*c*) What are the reasons for refusing the petition of Sj. Girijaballav Roy Chowdhury of Haripur in Dinajpur?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) (*i*) 23.

(*ii*) to (*iv*) Statements are laid on the table.

(*b*) (*i*) The solvency of the estate.

(*ii*) Litigation prospects.

(*iii*) The capacity of the proprietor to manage.

(*iv*) Services rendered by the family of the proprietor to Government.

(*v*) The importance, if any, to Government or the public of the preservation of the estate.

(*c*) The Board did not find any adequate reason for taking charge of this estate.

Statement referred to in the reply to clauses (a) (ii) and (iii) of starred question No. 118.

LIST OF ESTATES OF WHICH CHARGE WAS ASSUMED IN 1938 AND UP TO OCTOBER, 1939.

1. Nakashipara Wards Estates Nos. I and II, Nadia—

Date of application—

No. I—19th January, 1938.
No. II—18th January, 1938.

Proprietors' names—

No. I—Babu Shibendra Nath Sinha Roy.

No. II—Sm. Sushila Sinha Roy.

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 3685-86W., dated the 3rd March, 1938.

2. Estate of Babu Surja Prasanna Bajpai Chowdhury of Parerhat, Bakarganj—

Date of application—29th November, 1937.

Proprietor's name—Surja Prasanna Bajpai Chowdhury.

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 2617W., dated the 27th March, 1939.

3. Estate of Narayandaha No. III, Mymensingh—

Date of application—1st February, 1938.

Proprietors' names—Babus Narendra Narayan Mazumdar Choudhury, Upendra Narayan Mazumdar Choudhury and Girindra Narayan Mazumdar Choudhury.

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 3524-25W., dated the 25th April, 1939.

4. Choudhury Wards Estate, Bhowanipore No. II, Mymensingh—

Date of application—13th November, 1937.

Proprietors' names—Babus Jyotish Chandra Choudhury and Prithish Chandra Choudhury.

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 8502W., dated the 4th May, 1938.

5. Estate of Satya Tapan Ghosal and others, Tippera—

Date of application—November, 1937.

Proprietors' names—Babus Satya Bijoy Ghosal, Satya Tapan Ghosal, Satya Jayati Ghosal, Satya Jay Ghosal (minor) and Satya Bikash Ghosal (minor).

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 4971-72W., dated the 9th June, 1939.

6. Durgapur Wards Estate, Mymensingh—

Date of application—25th February, 1938.

Proprietors' names—Babus Narendra Nath Sanyal, Jotindra Nath Sanyal and Debendra Nath Sanyal.

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 13052W., dated the 16th July, 1938.

7. Ghugra Wards Estate, Mymensingh—

Date of application—14th February, 1938.

Proprietors' names—Babus Jotindra Mohan Singh, Amal Chandra Singh (minor), Nirmal Chandra Singh (minor), and Ajit Kumar Singh (minor).

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 13786-87W., dated the 28th July, 1938.

8. Narayandaha Wards Estate No. I, Mymensingh—

Date of application—21st March, 1938.

Proprietors' names—Babus Mahendra Narayan Mazumdar Choudhury, Brojendra Narayan Mazumdar Choudhury, Monindra Narayan Mazumdar Choudhury and Nagendra Narayan Mazumdar Choudhury.

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 14277W., dated the 3rd August, 1938.

9. Narayandaha Wards Estate No. II, Mymensingh—

Date of application—Nil, 1938.

Proprietors' names—Babus Jnanendra Narayan Mazumdar Choudhury and Hari Narayan Mazumdar Choudhury (minor).

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 17627-28W., dated the 27th September, 1938.

10. Jogendra Nath Tewari Estate, Chittagong—

Date of application—14th June, 1938.

Proprietors' names—Babus Indra Nath Tewari and Gouri Sankar Tewari (minor).

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 21217-18W., dated the 7th December, 1938.

11. Mukherjee Wards Estate, Uttarpara, Hooghly—

Date of application—1st January, 1939.

Proprietors' names—Babu Durga Charan Mukherjee, Rai Bahadur Sir Satya Charan Mukherjee, C.B.E., and Babu Ambica Charan Mukherjee.

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 9W., dated the 3rd January, 1939.

12. Tagore Raj Wards Estate, Calcutta—

Date of application—20th April, 1939.

Proprietor's name—Maharaja Sir Prodyot Kumar Tagore.

13. Sinha Roy Estate, Hooghly—

Date of application—1939.

Proprietor's name—Babu Chandi Prosad Singh Roy.

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 3884W., dated the 8th May, 1939.

14. Chakma Raj Estate, Chittagong—

Date of application—29th August, 1938.

Proprietor's name—Chakma Raja Nalinakshya Roy.

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 5671W., dated the 3rd July, 1939.

15. Bhulua Estate, Noakhali—

Date of application—22nd March, 1939.

Proprietor's name—Captain S. C. Ghosh Moulick.

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 6008W., dated the 12th July, 1939.

16. Santosh 5-as. Estates Nos. I and II, Mymensingh—

Date of application—30th April, 1939.

Proprietors' names—

Estate No. I—Maharani Lady Roy Chaudhuri, Mr. B. N. Roy Chaudhuri, Mr. R. N. Roy Chaudhuri and Mr. P. N. Roy Chaudhuri.

Estate No. II—Mr. Pramatha Nath Roy Chaudhuri.

Date of assumption—No. 6182-83W., dated the 15th July, 1939.

17. Tarash Wards Estate, Pabna—

Date of application—September, 1938.

Proprietors' names—Rai Bahadur Radhika Bhusan Ray, Babus Rakhal Gurudas Ray, Brojo Rakhal Ray (minor) and Santosh Rakhal Ray (minor).

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 6582-83W., dated the 26th July, 1939.

18. Janbazar Estate No. I, 24-Parganas—

Date of application—26th May, 1939.

Proprietor's name—Babu Anath Nath Biswas (minor).

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 6953-W., dated the 4th August, 1939.

19. Jhamapukur Wards Estate, Calcutta—

Date of application—May, 1939.

Proprietor's name—Mr. Narendra Nath Mitter.

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 7003W., dated the 7th August, 1939.

20. Baikunthapur Wards Estate, Jalpaiguri—

Date of application—18th September, 1939.

Proprietor's name—The Hon'ble Mr. P. D. Raikut.

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 8696W., dated the 21st September, 1939.

21. Estate of Raja Ram Mohan Ray, Hooghly—

Date of application—24th April, 1939.

Proprietors' names—Babus Dharani Mohan Roy, Sachindra Mohan Roy (minor) and Sabita Mohan Roy (minor).

Dates of assumption—B.O. Nos. 8707W., dated the 22nd September, 1939, and 9346W., dated the 10th October, 1939.

22. Rowha Wards Estate, Mymensingh—

Date of application—29th November, 1939.

Proprietors' names—Babus Birendra Kishore Dutta Choudhury, Hirendra Kishore Dutta Choudhury (minor) and Ramendra Kishore Dutta Choudhury (minor).

Date of assumption—B.O. No. 9761-62W., dated the 31st October, 1939.

23. Acharya Chaudhuri Wards Estate, Nos. I and II—

Date of application—22nd October, 1937.

Proprietors' names—Babus Birendra Narayan Acharya Chaudhury, Bhupendra Narayan Acharya Chaudhury and Himangsu Narayan Acharya Chaudhury.

Date of assumption—No. 7-8W., dated the 3rd January, 1938.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (a) (iv) of starred question No. 118.

LIST OF ESTATES NOT TAKEN CHARGE OF BY THE COURT OF WARDS IN 1938-39.

1. Estate of Mong Raja Nanoomah, Chittagong Hill Tracts.
2. Estate of Srimati Hemlata Devi, in Patuakhali, Bakarganj.
3. Estate of Babu Pramode Kumar Biswas and others, Bakarganj.

Names of proprietors—

(1) Promode Kumar Biswas.
(2) Anil Kumar Biswas.
(3) Sm. Charusilla Biswas.

4. Estate of Babu Sripati Mohan Ghose, Dacca.
5. Estate of Babu Girja Ballav Roy Choudhury, Dinajpur.
6. Estate of Babu Bhabendra Chandra Roy, Narail, Jessore.
7. Estate of Khan Bahadur Abul Hayat Khan Chowdhury of Malda.

Names of proprietors—

(1) Khan Bahadur Abul Hayat Khan Chowdhury.
(2) Mahbub Ahmmad Khan Chowdhury.

8. Estate of (1) Sm. Indira Kumari Roy and (2) Babu Ajit Kumar Roy of Purba Kauniya, Chittagong.

9. Estate of (1) Roy Bahadur Pannalal Mukherji and (2) Babu Jaharlal Mukherji of Uttarpara, Hooghly.

10. Estate of Syed Abu Md. Estemdad Haydar of Bakarganj.

11. Estate of (1) Babu Atul Chandra Bhaduri, (2) Babu Amula Chandra Bhaduri and (3) Babu Sudhir Chandra Bhaduri of Mymensingh.

12. Estate of (1) Babu Balai Chandra Sarkar, (2) Babu Kanai Lal Sarkar, (3) Babu Bibhuti Bhusan Sarkar and (4) Babu Promotha Bhusan Sarkar of Nadia.

13. Estate of (1) Babu Amar Krishna Choudhury, (2) Babu Chandra Kumar Choudhury, (3) Babu Kamini Kumar Choudhury,

(4) Babu Haridas Choudhuri, (5) Babu Sris Chandra Choudhury, (6) Babu Aswini Kumar Choudhury, (7) Babu Lal Mohan Choudhury and (8) Babu Mathura Mohan Choudhury in Chittagong.

14. Estate of (1) Babu Ram Chandra Chandra Sukul, (2) Babu Sam Sundar Sukul and (3) Babu Krishna Kumar Sukul in Chittagong.

15. Estate of (1) Babu Jnanendra Narayan Sanyal and (2) Babu Jitendra Narayan Sanyal of Rajshahi.

16. Estate of Babu Krishna Chandra Ray and others, of Haripal, Hooghly.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with reference to answer (*a*), if all the factors are necessary or only one factor is necessary for the assumption of charge of the estate of Mr. Roy Chowdhury?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I believe all the factors.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of the answer just given, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if all the facts were considered in the case of these petitions which have been refused?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: It is difficult to give a reply off-hand, but I believe this particular estate must have lacked some of them at any rate.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether, while refusing applications, applicants are given opportunities to place their case before the Board?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I think it is the Board of Revenue which decides after getting such information as it considers necessary to obtain beforehand to come to a decision.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to the answer given in the statement on page 13, item No. 20, regarding Baikunthapur Wards Estate, Jalpaiguri, of which the proprietor's name is mentioned as the Hon'ble Mr. P. D. Raikut, may I enquire if all the conditions for acceptance of this estate, as mentioned in the answer, particularly the condition of incapacity of the proprietor to manage the estate, has been fulfilled?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I do not think the honourable member's inference is correct.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I want to know if all the conditions have got to be fulfilled, and if one of the conditions in the acceptance itself is the incapacity of the proprietor to manage because when Mr. Kundu asked the question he was specific and he did not realize that there is another possibility.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think you have sympathy for my friend because he is not responsible for the department.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how the capacity or otherwise of the proprietor to manage the estate is to be judged?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, I submit——

Mr. SPEAKER: Will the honourable member please sit down? I hope it will be understood that when there is a law giving statutory authority to a person or body to function, then the manner in which that function is exercised cannot be a subject-matter of a supplementary question.

Suits for ejectment of homesteads and shops in Bengal.

***119. Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing, district by district, for the years 1937 and 1938—

(*i*) the number of suits within the province instituted for ejectment of homesteads and shops within the different municipal towns, bazars or market places except Calcutta;

(*ii*) the result of such suits; and

(*iii*) the number of such suits instituted after the publication of the Government communique on the subject, *i.e.*, after the 25th August, 1939?

(*b*) Is it in the contemplation of Government to enact a law prohibiting ejectment from, and enhancement of rent of, non-agricultural tenancies?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) A statement is laid on the table.

(*b*) A Bill to prevent eviction under certain circumstances is in contemplation.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (a) of starred question No. 119.

	Number of suits instituted—		Results of suits—						Number of suits instituted after issue of Government communique.
			In 1937.			In 1938.			
	In 1937.	In 1938.	Decreed.	Dismissed or otherwise disposed of.	Pending	Decreed	Dismissed or otherwise disposed of.	Pending.	
Bakarganj ..	25	37	7	18	..	15	22	..	5
Bankura ..	17		11	5 otherwise disposed of.	1	..	..	..	..
Birbhum ..	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	1
Pabna-Bogra ..	28	28	16	12	..	11	17	..	6
Burdwan ..	57	50	30	27	..	24	23	3	10
Chittagong ..	25	28	20	5	..	20	8	..	7
Dacca ..	103	154	61	42	..	103	32	19	40
Darjeeling ..	22	18	16	6	..	16	1	1	2
Dinajpur ..	50	68	42	8	..	43	18	7	13
Faridpur ..	13	14	9	4	..	5	3	6	5
Hooghly ..	64	88	46	18	..	46	41	1	10
Howrah ..	75	81	64	11	..	50	26	5	18
Jalpaiguri ..	6	28	4	2	..	13	10	..	4

	Number of suits instituted—			Results of suits—						Number of suits instituted after issue of Government communique.
				In 1937.			In 1938.			
	In 1937.		In 1938	Decreed.	Dismissed or otherwise disposed of.	Pending.	Decreed.	Dismissed or otherwise disposed of.	Pending.	
Jessore ..	..		2	.	.	..	..	1	1	..
Khulna ..	..		..	..	.	.	..	..	..	..
Rajshahi-Malda ..	9		20	5	4	..	10	10	..	9
Midnapore ..	17		11	20	6 otherwise disposed of.	2	..	..	..	1
Murshidabad ..	31			16	15 otherwise disposed of.	..	..	..	..	3
Mymensingh ..	2		20	2	..	..	10	3	7	6
Nadia ..	27		63	21	6	..	42	21	..	3
Noakhali ..	7		28	7	..	..	22	6	..	10
Rangpur ..	75			34	29 otherwise disposed of.	12	..	..	..	11
Tippera ..	33		57	29	4	..	48	9	..	35
24-Parganas ..	268		319	180	88	..	223	80	16	104

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is in the contemplation of Government to prevent eviction in cases in which suits have been decreed?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I believe it will be considered when the Bill is drafted.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must adjourn the House now for prayer.

The House was then adjourned for 15 minutes.

(*After adjournment.*)

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enlighten us as to the number of cases of ejectment in the city of Calcutta during 1937-38?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of the statement laid on the table and of the increasing number of cases of ejectment in almost all districts, especially in view of the fact that a considerably large number of cases has been instituted after the communiqué on the subject has been issued, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is in the contemplation of Government to take temporary measures immediately for the relief of tenants?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: It will depend upon the information Government gets in the matter.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that a deputation of the Dacca Citizens Association waited upon the Chief Minister and the Revenue Minister and represented their case dealing particularly with the hardships that they were undergoing in Dacca?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I am aware of some deputations waiting upon the Hon'ble Ministers as mentioned by my honourable friend.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that the Chief Minister while on tour at Dacca was approached with particulars of the ejectment suits instituted in Narayanganj Munsifi and a prayer made for temporary relief to the peasants?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Sir, I am not quite sure about that.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how else the Government will be satisfied if it is not satisfied with the information already supplied by Government and the statement that the Government has already supplied to us?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Petty settlement in village Char-Shubandi in Tippera.

***120. Mr. SHAHEDALI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state the year when the last petty settlement operations commenced with regard to village No. 227, Char-Shubandi bearing touzi No. 2092 in pargana Rajnagar, within Matlab-Bazar police-station in the district of Tippera?

(*b*) Has the work of the petty settlement been finished?

(*c*) If the work has not been finished, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason therefor?

(*d*) If the work has been finished, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the date of publication of final record-of-rights?

(*e*) Did the Government notify to the villagers for taking copies of the final record-of-rights? If so, when?

(*f*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware—

(*i*) that the major portion of the village has been washed away by the river Megna;

(*ii*) that the tenants have submitted several representations to the local Khas Mahal Officer for reduction of rent owing to diluvion; and

(*iii*) that the final publication of record-of-rights was withheld?

(*g*) If the answer to (*f*) (*i*) is in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of reducing the rent?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) In the field season of 1935-36.

(*b*) Yes.

(*c*) Does not arise.

(*d*) March, 1939.

(*e*) Yes. Copies of the record were distributed by the *khas mahal tahsil* clerk in the course of his tours. The first batch was distributed on the 6th August, 1939, and the second batch on the 16th November,

1939. Twenty copies could not be distributed on account of the absence of the tenants. They will be distributed when the *tahsil* clerk again visits the locality.

(*f*) (*i*) Some portion of the village has been washed away.

(*ii*) and (*iii*) No.

(*g*) At the recent minor settlement the entire diluviated area was excluded from assessment.

Grants to Rajshahi Sadar Hospital.

*121. **Maulvi MOSLEM ALI MOLLAH:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Medical Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the amount of annual grant paid by the Government to the Rajshahi Sadar Hospital (Raja P. N. Hospital); and

(*ii*) the amount spent annually by the said hospital committee towards the pay of the assistant surgeon of the Hospital?

(*b*) Is there any Dental Department attached to the hospital?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government give any grant to the hospital towards the maintenance of the Dental Department?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*) (*i*) No annual grant is paid by Government towards the maintenance of the hospital but usual contributions are made for free supply of quinine, forms, etc., including Rs. 300 per annum for free supply of medicines to Government servants.

(*ii*) Rs. 3,480.

(*b*) Yes; a dental clinic has been recently opened.

(*c*) No.

Condition of services of the workers of Government Building Electric Department.

*122. **Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department aware—

(*i*) that the workers, mistries, coolies, pumpmen, liftmen, head mistries, work sarcars or workshopmen of the Government Building Electric Department are not made permanent even after 20 or 30 years of service;

(*ii*) that they are not given the privileges such as pension, gratuity, provident fund, leave and grade pay like other Government servants;

(*iii*) that they are suffering due to abnormal rise in prices since the war started; and

(*iv*) that their grievances were repeatedly brought to the notice of Government—

(1) through interpellations in the Assembly,

(2) through representations by the Government Building Electrical Workers' Union, and

(3) by a member of the Assembly?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps have been taken by him for the redress of these grievances?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the number of persons who have been discharged without giving any gratuity after ten or more years of service in the last five years?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of unpaid apprentices, if any, in the department; and

(*ii*) the period of their service?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: (*a*) (*i*), (*ii*) and (*iv*) (1) and (2) Attention is invited to the answers which I gave on the 17th February, 1938, to Mr. Abdul Hakeem's starred question No. 31 and on the 17th March, 1939, to Khan Bahadur Maulana Ahamed Ali Enayatpuri's starred question No. 215.

(*iii*) They have been affected like many others.

(*iv*) (3) The honourable member has mentioned the matter to me.

(*b*) The matter is under my consideration.

(*c*) Six, one of whom has been re-employed in another post.

(*d*) (*i*) Eleven at present.

(*ii*) Eight for less than a year, and three for a little over a year.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with reference to answer (*c*), how many years those five men had worked for before they were discharged?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Sir, I am afraid I cannot give the exact number of years, but they have been in service for a good number of years.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is more than 30 or less than 30 years?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Sir, I cannot say.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that several workers of his Department are going to be transferred to the Government of India; if so, what will be their fate regarding gratuity and old age provision, etc.?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Sir, I could not quite understand how does the question of the transfer of some of the officers of this department to the Government of India arise here?

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: May I explain my question, Sir? Some workers of the G. P. O. and other buildings are going to be transferred to the Government of India Department, and as such they will not be under the Hon'ble Minister. As already they have put in 25 or 30 years' service, will they be paid any gratuity at the time of transfer?

Mr. SPEAKER: How does that question arise?

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, it arises in this way. To the question of gratuity raised in question (c) the Hon'ble Minister has referred us to the answers given by him on the 17th February, 1938, and 17th March, 1939. The references are there, but all these workers are not getting any gratuity, nor are they being considered as permanent workers even though they have worked for more than 25 years.

Mr. SPEAKER: You can ask him about that, but not raise the question of transfer.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: One section of the workers, Sir, is going to be transferred.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is not in the question.

Suspension of enhancement of rent and abolition of transfer fees under Bengal Tenancy Act.

*123. **Mr. P. BANERJI:** Has the attention of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department been drawn—

(a) to losses incurred by the landlords from suspension of enhancement of rent and abolition of transfer fees under the Bengal Tenancy Act as amended up to date; and

(*b*) to hardship on the settlement-holders of the Sunderban estates caused by enhancement of land revenue of the said Sunderban estates?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): Yes.

Mr. P. BANERJI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he considers it desirable to take any steps for redress of the hardship of the settlement-holders?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: No, Sir.

Closing the mouth of the canal near Raipur station by railway embankment.

***124. Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD:** (*a*) Has the attention of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health Department and that of the Railway authorities been drawn to starred question Nos. 29 of 16th February, 1938, 366 of 7th April, 1938, 184 of 24th August, 1938, and 161 of 9th March, 1939, put in the Assembly with regard to the situation that has arisen on account of the closing of the mouth of the canal near Raipur station by railway embankment?

(*b*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the reason why no steps have been taken as yet in the matter either by Government or by the Railway authorities and

(*ii*) what action, if any, the Government are proposing to take in the matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) After enquiries made by the Subdivisional Officer, Serajganj, and the officers of the Public Health Department in consultation with the Railway authorities, a joint Inspection Committee was formed with representatives of the Municipality, the District Board, the Railway, the Irrigation and the Public Health Departments with the Subdivisional Officer as Chairman to hold an investigation into the position. The report of the Committee has been received, and is now under the consideration of Government.

Communal proportion of clerks in Civil Courts in Murshidabad.

125. **Rai Sahib KIRIT BHUSAN DAS:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state for the present time—

(*i*) the total number of clerks in the Civil Courts in the district of Murshidabad; and

(*ii*) how many of them belong to the Scheduled Castes?

(*b*) If the number of Scheduled Caste clerks is below the ratio fixed by Government will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action he proposes to take in the matter?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether the ratio of services in the matter of appointments as fixed by Government is being given effect to;

(*ii*) how many clerks have been appointed in the Civil Courts since the fixation of ratio of services by Government;

(*iii*) how many of them are from the Scheduled Castes; and

(*iv*) whether lately an examination was held by the District Judge to keep a pending list of registered clerks for future appointments?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*)(*iv*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of candidates on such list; and

(*ii*) how many of them are from Scheduled Castes?

MINISTER in charge of the JUDICIAL AND LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENTS (the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur): (*a*) (*i*) Ninety

(*ii*) Three.

(*b*) The District Judges are being asked to adjust the appointments according to the prescribed communal ratio as vacancies occur and opportunities present themselves.

(*c*) (*i*) and (*iv*) Yes.

(*ii*) Eight.

(*iii*) Two.

(*d*) (*i*) Eleven.

(*ii*) One.

Remuneration of copyists of the Civil Courts of Dinajpur and Malda.

*126. **Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state if it is a fact that the remuneration of the copyists of the Civil Courts at Dinajpur and Malda districts has fallen down?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing, month by month, for the years 1937, 1938 and 1939 the amount of remuneration drawn by each one of the copyists of the Civil Courts at Dinajpur and Malda?

(*c*) Is there any rule fixing the minimum and maximum remuneration of a copyists per month?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative what steps do the Government propose to take for maintaining the minimum standard of remuneration of the aforesaid copyists as provided in the rules?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) Statement is laid on the Library table.

(*c*) Rule 666, High Court Civil Rules and Orders.

(*d*) None. In case of some districts Government have already allowed the concession of a guaranteed minimum wage of Rs. 30 per mensem for each copyist in case of his average earning falling below that figure. The Judges of other districts were informed of the order for their guidance.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of his answer (*d*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to name the districts where this concession has been guaranteed?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: So far as other districts are concerned, the answer is perfectly clear. A general order has been issued that if the District Judges find that the earning of the copyists falls below Rs. 30, a minimum wage of Rs. 30 should be given to them. The matter has been left to the discretion of the District Judge.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the minimum wage that is prescribed in rule 666, High Court Civil Rules and Orders?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: He can earn any amount as maximum but if his earning is below Rs. 30 in the course of a year, Government has declared that——

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: My question was what was the minimum fixed in rule 666, High Court Civil Rules and Orders.

Mr. SPEAKER: You should have patience with the Nawab Sahib.

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: If the average fell below Rs. 30 then the rule would apply.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the rule provides not for Rs. 30 but for a minimum of Rs. 50 to be given to the copyists?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: I cannot, say, Sir, what the rule is.

Appointment of a stenographer by District Judge, Faridpur.

*127. **Mr. P. BANERJI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether District Judge, Faridpur, has recently appointed a junior Muhammadan probationer as stenographer in the higher grade;

(*ii*) whether he was tested before his appointment;

(*iii*) whether there were other applicants qualified in stenography from amongst the staff; and

(*iv*) whether any test has recently been prescribed by the Judicial Department of the Government of Bengal for the appointment of stenographers in the offices under the control of District Judges in Bengal?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*)(*iv*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it was considered by the District Judge in making the appointment of the stenographers?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: Please refer to the answer to question No. 70 (starred) put by Mr. Surendra Nath Biswas during the current session of the Assembly delivered on 12th December, 1939.

Inundation by saline water of certain khas mahal villages, Chittagong.

***128. Babu MAHIM CHANDRA DAS:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department aware—

(*i*) that in the district of Chittagong, police-station Banshkhali, *khas mahal* Satkania, major portions of villages Gunagari Chapachin, Ilsha and Kokedandi are inundated every year by saline water from the Bay of Bengal flowing through Khatkhali *khal;*

(*ii*) that this matter is being represented through petitions and memorials to the local authorities by the public;

(*iii*) that the people of the locality have asked for the erection of an embankment to close the mouth of the Kodala *khal* and thereby stop the flow of saline water and to open a water-way joining Raghunath *khal* for the purpose of allowing fresh water tide to flow from the Songu river?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action, if any, has been taken in the matter?

(*c*) Have the Government made any enquiry to ascertain other ways and means to protect the people and *khas* lands from this menace?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) (*i*) No.

(*b*) and (*c*) Do not arise.

Damages caused by flood of Padma to a village in Nadia district.

***129. Babu LAKSHMI NARAYAN BISWAS:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department aware—

(*i*) that nearly 100 houses of the village Golapnagore, police-station Veramara, district Nadia, were affected due to the encroachment of the Padma during the last rainy season;

(*ii*) that an enquiry was held to ascertain the number of houses affected and the amount of damage caused; and

(*iii*) that as a result of the enquiry a list of 95 houses was made and the damage caused was estimated to be Rs. 3,000 in consultation with the local M.L.A. and the President of the Golapnagore Union Board?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*iii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) how the number of the houses was reduced from 95 to 56 and the sum of Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 572; and

(*ii*) why sum of Rs. 572 has not been distributed yet to the owners of the houses affected?

(*c*) When is the sum of Rs. 572 likely to be distributed to the affected people?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) (*i*) It is reported that the number of houses affected will not exceed 70.

(*ii*) Yes. The enquiry is reported to have been made by the Circle Officer in consultation with the member.

(*iii*) No.

(*b*) Does not arise.

(*c*) The question of whether money should be provided from public revenues for the purpose of making gifts for re-building houses is under the consideration of Government.

Enquiry made into allegation against certain officials of Panihati Court of Wards.

*130. **Mr. P. BANERJI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state the result of the enquiry held by the Deputy Collector, Court of Wards, Alipore, in his Court on the 21st June, 1939, into the complaint made by Sj. Kartic Chandra Mondal of Panchuria, thana Bhangor, post-office Rajahat (24-Parganas), against certain officials of Panihati Court of Wards?

(*b*) How many persons were examined in that connection?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the report, if available?

(*d*) What action, if any, has the Hon'ble Minister taken on the report?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar (on behalf of the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): (*a*) As a result of the enquiry which was concluded on the 26th June, 1939, proceedings have been drawn up against—(1) Babu Kartik Chandra Banerji, Circle Inspector, (2) Babu Tarak Nath Chaudhury, *Tahsildar*, and (3) Babu Gopal Chandra Ghosh, *Tahsildar*, charging them with dishonesty and to show cause why they should not be removed from service.

The explanations submitted by the officials are still under examination by the local officers.

(*b*) Fifteen witnesses were examined in all.

(*c*) No final report is yet available.

(*d*) Does not arise.

Mr. P. BANERJI: Will the Hon'ble Minister please tell us who are the officials that are examining the report?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: I am not quite sure! It must be the officers who are in charge of the Court of Wards in that district.

Mr. P. BANERJI: Will the Hon'ble Minister please tell us why these persons have not been prosecuted in view of the charges made against them?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Free supply of medicines to the diseased cattle in veterinary hospitals.

***131. Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture (Veterinary) Department aware—

(*i*) that free medicine used to be supplied to the diseased cattle when they were taken to the veterinary hospitals in the district and subdivisional towns;

(*ii*) that of late free supply of medicine to the diseased cattle has been discontinued at the subdivisional veterinary hospitals; and

(*iii*) that on account of the stoppage of free distribution of medicine many diseased cattle do not get treatment now as before?

(*b*) If the answers to (*a*) (*ii*) and (*iii*) are in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of re-introducing the practice of free distribution of medicine as before to the diseased cattle?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*) (*i*) Yes, in the case of *bona fide* cultivators and others whose income is below Rs. 50. A copy of the relevant rules, namely, rules 59 and 60 of the Bengal Veterinary Manual is laid on the Library table. No change in these rules in regard to free supply of medicines has been authorised by Government.

(ii) and (iii) No. No such case has been brought to my notice. If the member can furnish me with particulars of any such case, I shall take action in the case of a Government veterinary hospital or dispensary to stop this departure from the rules immediately and in the case of a local fund veterinary hospital or dispensary to request the local authority concerned to discontinue the new arrangement and to revert to the previous procedure authorised by Government.

(b) Does not arise.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us what does he mean by the word "income" in answer (a) (i)? Is it monthly income or annual income?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Annual income.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us who determines whether a person is a *bona fide* cultivator or otherwise?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: It applies to *bona fide* cultivators and others also.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: But who determines whether a cultivator is a *bona fide* cultivator or not?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: The officer who gives the medicine.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us if these persons, viz., *bona fide* cultivators and others whose income is below Rs. 50 they really get free medicine?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Yes, that is the purport of the rule.

Notices under Ordinance V of 1939, issued against labourers and labour leaders.

***132. Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Law and Order) Department be pleased to state against how many labourers and labour leaders notices under Ordinance V of 1939 have been issued up till now?

(b) Is it a fact that upon nine workers of different jute mills in Budge Budge, notices have been served under this Ordinance?

(*c*) What difference does the Government make between normal trade union activities and subversive activities mentioned in notices referred to above?

(*d*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the labourers have been terrorised and normal trade union activities in the province are at a standstill?

(*e*) If the answer to (*d*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps, if any, he proposes to take in the matter?

(*f*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, month by month, the number of labour meetings that took place during the last six months in the following labour areas:—

(*i*) Calcutta and suburbs;

(*ii*) the Barrackpore subdivision of the 24-Parganas;

(*iii*) the Hooghly district; and

(*iv*) the Howrah district?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) Against 46 labourers and 26 labour leaders.

(*b*) Yes.

(*c*) When the activities are for the purpose of creating disaffection and trouble Government consider the activities to be subversive; when the activities are for the genuine improvement of labour Government consider them as normal trade union activities.

(*d*) No.

(*e*) Does not arise.

(*f*)	(*i*)	(*ii*)	(*iii*)	(*iv*)
May ..	53	11	16	11
June ..	45	12	24	4
July ..	52	29	6	6
August ..	48	32	2	5
September ..	24	10	1	..
October ..	3	..	..	.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE : মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দয়া করে বলবেন কি কি ধরনের subversive action বঙ্গ বঙ্গের ৯জন লোক কোরেছিল যার জন্য Government থেকে তাদের উপর Defence of India Act অনুসারে notice জারি করা হোয়েছিল ?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, in respect of this question, I wish to make one thing clear. Answer (*a*) is not strictly correct. Although we have stated that action has been taken against

46 labourers and 26 labour leaders, actually notices under the Defence of India Rules have been served only against two persons. The nine workers in Budge Budge regarding whom Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee has asked this question were summoned but were only warned not to engage in subversive activities.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE : মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় কি বোলতে এই চার নয়জনের উপর notice দেওয়া হয় নাই, এবং তাদের against a case করা হয় নাই ?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: They were given warning notices.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE : তাদের Courtএ উপস্থিত হোতে কোরেছিল কি না ?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: They were only asked to show cause as to why action should not be taken against them under the Ordinance but action was ultimately not taken against them.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE : মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দয়া কোরে বোলবেন কি এই notice জারি করবার পূর্ব্বে বজ বজের শ্রমিকেরা সাধারণতঃ যুদ্ধের ফলে জিনিষের দাম বেড়েছে সে জন্য তাদের মজুরি বৃদ্ধির দাবি কোরেছিলো এবং তার পরই তাদের উপর নোটিশ জারি করা হয় ?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state in what particular areas these orders were served on the labourers and labour leaders mentioned in answer (*a*)?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I have already pointed out that, actually no orders were served as mentioned in my answer (*a*). Orders were served only in two instances.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what he means by the expression "subversive"?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: A bit revolutionary. (Laughter.)

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the orders served on persons under the Defence of India Ordinance have been exclusively in the jute mill areas?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: There were no orders served under the Defence of India Ordinance. Orders were served only under the Defence of India Rules and they have been served in jute mill areas where more subversiveness unfortunately abounds than in other areas.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state against whom these persons were creating disaffection?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Against society; against the constitution.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the demand of the jute mill workers for an increase of wages at a time when the jute mills have received huge orders for the manufacture of sand bags is considered subversive or a legitimate demand in furtherance of labour interests?

Mr. SPEAKER: This question does not arise.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: I submit, Sir, it does arise, and I am asking this question because the Hon'ble Minister has stated that some orders under the Defence of India Rules have been served on persons in the jute mill area and he has further stated that anything which will be regarded as revolutionary, that is directed against Government, would be regarded as subversive. In view of all this I am asking the Hon'ble Minister whether in the jute mill areas the movement for an increase of wages on the part of jute mill workers at a time when the mills are making profits out of the huge orders for sand-bags placed with them will be regarded as subversive or not?

Mr. SPEAKER: This question does not arise.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there has been any specific ground for the service of orders on the persons on whom orders under the Defence of India Rules were served?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: There were two persons against whom orders were served and of course there were specific grounds.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the activities of those persons were for the purpose of getting an increase in their wages?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Is the honourable the Leader of the Opposition referring to the two persons against whom orders were passed?

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I am referring to the activities of the persons mentioned in paragraph (*c*) of the answer.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I am sorry there are no persons mentioned in paragraph (*c*).

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Activities are mentioned and surely it means, the Hon'ble Minister, I suppose, is able to realise, that activities must refer to the activities of persons.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: The honourable member is asking my opinion as to what constitute subversive activities.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I am asking the Hon'ble Minister to state if it is a fact that the activities of those persons were for the purpose of getting an increase in their wages?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I again wish to know the activities of which persons before I answer.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: It is impossible for me to make the Hon'ble Minister understand my question. Surely I thought that my question was sufficiently clear.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I think it was not clear.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I invite your attention to question (*c*) and answer (*c*). I should have thought that the "activities" both in the question and in the answer referred to the activities of persons.

May I have an answer to my question?

(No reply.)

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the activities referred to in answer (*c*) were the activities of persons for the purpose of having an increase in their wages?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: The activities referred to in answer (*c*) are the activities of persons who created disaffection and trouble, and also the activities of persons whose activities were for the genuine improvement of labour.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: My question, Sir, was a very specific one. I asked the Hon'ble Minister whether the activities of those persons were for the purpose of having an increase in their wages. I put the question six times.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: It is no use my honourable friend asking the question 20 times, if the question has nothing to do with the answer.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I know it is no use putting a question 20 times if that question does not enter the brain of the Hon'ble Minister.

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope the Leader of the Opposition will not cast an aspersion of a character which may tantamount to a personal reflection.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I say that I never cast any aspersion? I contend that my question was strictly parliamentary and my observations were strictly parliamentary.

Mr. SPEAKER: Next question.

Immersion of goddess Kali at Bargharia in Malda.

***133. Mr. TARINICHARAN PRAMANIK:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware—

(*i*) that permission for the immersion of the goddess Kali has not yet been given to the people of Bargharia under the police-station Chapai, Nawabganj, in the district of Malda;

(*ii*) that the matter has been referred to His Excellency the Viceroy of India; and

(*iii*) that a feeling exists amongst the Hindu people of Bargharia over the question of delay in giving the permission?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action he proposes to take in the matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) (*i*) No. Licences have been twice given.

(*ii*) and (*iii*) Yes.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the names of the two persons on whom orders were served under the Defence of India rules?

Mr. SPEAKER: The Hon'ble Minister has replied to question No. 133 and you are putting question on No. 132 which has already been dispoesd of.

The question time is over and if there is any time left, I will again take this question up later on.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Is No. 132 still open to supplementary questions?

Mr. SPEAKER: No.

Notice of an Adjournment Motion.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: I sent in a notice of an adjournment motion to your office at 12 o'clock, with regard to a statement made by the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan yesterday evening in connection with the coming Ordinance.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry this motion under the rules should have been received by 12 mid-day. It was received half an hour late, i.e., at 12-30 and I had no time to look into the matter.

Statement by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker on his Resignation.

Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, I rise to speak to-day from a seat which is new in the eyes of honourable members of this House. In taking the decision which has involved this transformation, I have given the most serious and anxious consideration. I have also taken the decision with the deepest regret, but Sir, not in any haste. The views of my colleagues have had my careful consideration. I have

weighed over all the alternatives and possibilities, not once, nor twice, but many times over during the last fortnight. May I also mention, Sir, that I have had the good fortune and privilege of receiving the personal advice of two of the highest personalities in the official world, and for whose opinions I entertain the greatest personal regard? If in spite of all this, I have chosen to take a momentous decision, you will appreciate, Sir, that the issue involved is of a fundamental character. How very fundamental it has been even more pronouncedly borne upon me by the import of the speech of my erstwhile leader, the Chief Minister, in recommending the official resolution for acceptance by this House. He was perfectly candid to declare that "if a constitution is framed which the Muslims and Scheduled Castes and other minorities do not approve, I will be one of the first to revolt", and went on to say that he would, in such an eventuality, storm the gates of the Viceregal Lodge and demand satisfaction of "the solemn pledges which the British sovereigns have given since the days of Queen Victoria to the Indian people." The correctness of my assessment of the official resolution has been reinforced by the very lucid explanation of the Chief Minister: and if there were ever any trace of doubt in my mind as to the validity of my interpretation of the resolution, the Chief Minister's statement has removed them altogether. I may remark in passing, Sir, that if ever the Chief Minister would raise the banner of rebellion or storm the gates of Viceregal Lodge, the country would be in the melting pot of a revolution, and there would be no question of safeguarding of the rights of minorities. He would only be creating condition for the fulfilment of the Congress demand of a Constituent Assembly.

The issue involved, Sir, is not a provincial one. It is a national issue. In fact, it goes far beyond the bounds of the nation, and may rightly be regarded as an international one. At a time when a terrible war is being waged for upholding the principles of democracy, the demand that a minority must not only have safeguards to its satisfaction for the protection of its special rights—a point which is readily conceded, but, further, that on its will must depend the fate of the future political advancement of the country is, to say the least, highly contradictory. I take it, Sir, that those who have carried the official War Resolution by their votes through this Assembly have not only vouchsafed support and co-operation to the democracies in the present struggle, but also to the principles for which they are fighting. And the most important of these principles is the upholding of the democratic principle. Do the supporters of the resolution even now fully realise, Sir, the contradiction in which they have landed themselves by striking at the very root of this democratic principle in the concluding portion of their resolution? For me, Sir, the contradiction is so patent and the principle involved so fundamental that, true to my political convictions

and the traditions I have been nurtured in, I could not agree to any compromise. I had, Sir, made my position perfectly clear to my colleagues long before the developments of the past few days took place. At the very outset, I informed some members of the Cabinet that the best and only solution of the tangle appeared to me to agree to differ on this issue. I am glad to acknowledge, Sir, with gratitude that my colleagues in the Cabinet fully discussed with me sympathetically the point in dispute, and agreed to allow me the liberty to express my personal views on the subject. I was also intimated that "a method has been devised which would enable all to vote according to their conscience." It was in pursuance of these instructions that I voiced in the Upper House my personal opinion on the non-official War Resolutions. The question of voting did not arise at that time. Subsequently in accordance with a decision of the Party, liberty to vote according to one's conscience was withdrawn. This was a decision which I could not, in view of my deep-rooted convictions on the issue involved, abide by. My decision was clear and was made finally on the 18th before His Excellency. In coming to this decision, I have, as I have already said, carefully considered all the pros and cons of my action and its consequences. As honourable members are aware, there have also been occasions in the past of differences of opinion between my colleagues and myself. But I did not on those occasions elect to take the extreme step, as I felt that, according to my light and conscience, I would be serving the country best by continuing in office, in spite of the opportunities of cheap jibes and ridicules which such a course provided my opponents to hurl at me. If, Sir, I have to-day taken the decision which I had deferred on certain occasions in the past, it is simply because I found compromise on this issue impossible on my part. There are occasions, Sir, when compromise involves a complete surrender of one's deep-seated convictions. It is a price no conscientious man,—even if he is a politician,—will ever pay.

Sir, there have been criticisms of my present conduct in certain quarters. But I entertain in my mind no doubt as to the propriety of my conduct. It is no violation of collective responsibility to allow such liberty to individual Cabinet Ministers. Similar relaxatons have been seen even in the very recent history of the British Cabinet system. As recently as 1932, the National or Coalition Government of Great Britain decided on the question of Protection that "Ministers who find themselves unable to support the conclusions arrived at by the majority of their colleagues on the subject of import duties and cognate matters are at liberty to express their views *by speech and vote.*" By such a special provision, the Cabinet considered, they were best interpreting the will of the nation and the needs of the time. It appears to me extremely unfortunate, Sir, that whereas in Great Britain liberty of speech and voting was allowed even on such a fundamental issue as

that of Protection, it has been denied by the Coalition Party on an issue which is an All-India rather than a provincial one and which is outside the ambit of provincial responsibility.

Although, Sir, the last portion of the War Resolution has proved the breaking point of my relationship with the Government, I may freely confess that events have been so shaping themselves during the last six months or so that I was gradually losing heart in my work. I trust honourable members will pardon me if I become reminiscent and recall that I entered the present Cabinet inspired by certain ideals. That was a decision, even more momentous for me than the present one. Inspired by the ideal that I could with advantage devote such energy and ability as I possessed to the service of the country, and to the improvement of its social and economic conditions, I cut myself away from my moorings of the past, cheerfully agreed to bear heavy financial loss, and remained unperturbed by opprobrium and ridicule which members of my community and friends inside and outside Bengal showered on me. There was for me yet another solid reason for joining the Ministry at such a cost. The Communal Award was a fundamental limb of the Constitution and elections were held on this basis. I had hoped that if Hindus and Muslims would join hands and work for an end, which was for more than 99 per cent. common to all communities, viz., the amelioration of the economic condition of the masses, the communal emphasis in our political life may be gradually turned down and communal harmony allowed to prevail in the place of the present tension and bitterness between Hindus and Muslims. I am glad to acknowledge, Sir, that during the first year or so, the Cabinet worked harmoniously and was inspired by a desire to bring about a real improvement in the condition of the masses. But ever since then, and particularly during the last six months or so, a significant change has come over in the outlook of the Cabinet as well as in the relations between the Cabinet and the Party. With the result that I have shortly had to abandon the hopes I had once cherished. In the political sphere, a communal outlook has unfortunately been gathering force in the country at large, whose repercussions have also been felt in this province. Even in the administrative sphere, the former feeling of comradeship no longer obtains. Further, Cabinet has also gradually lost its leadership to the Party. The Cabinet has lost its initiative. The Party has become supreme. With the result that cool deliberation and mature judgment possible in a Council of Ministers have yielded place to the rashness and selfish predilections of a large party, which is predominantly communal in complexion and is still obsessed by the power which the ballot box has given it. In view of these developments, it had become clear to me that sooner or later I shall have to prepare myself for the parting of the way. That day has come to-day, but to-day's final break is only a culminating point in a chain of

developments. But I should like to emphasise one fact, viz., that I have tried my utmost to continue to work with the Government for the purpose of improving the condition of the province. I joined the Ministry with a view to work for this definite purpose and nobody would have been happier than myself if I could carry on this work. But circumstances have forced me to the decision I have taken to-day.

Sir, there appears to be a feeling among some Muslim members of the Coalition Party that I have either held up or thwarted the progress of proposals made for the advancement of their community. Nothing, Sir, could be further from the truth. My conscience on this point is absolutely clear. I have always endeavoured in so far as it lay in my power to further the cause of their advancement. The record of my official work will bear unassailable testimony to refute the charge of any lukewarmness in my attitude towards their interests. It is, Sir, quite natural that I might have caused some displeasure to some of my friends. To have held the Finance portfolio for over 2½ years and yet to have offended none, would, I believe, be an admission of failure on my part in the effective discharge of my duties.

There is one fact which my experience in the administration over a period of 2½ years has revealed, and to which I should like to make a passing reference. I have found that under the prevailing conditions the running of an administration depends more on the strength of votes than on ability, talent or efficiency. Even good and constructive proposals have hardly any chance of obtaining a hearing unless there is an influential party to back them up. There is therefore no possibility of doing any real work unless there is a homogenous and strong party behind one. And the impossible task of attempting to do anything in a Coalition Government with a party hostile to oneself would be easily understandable.

Sir, in laying down the reins of office, I have been animated by no bitterness. I have resigned not in anger, but in sorrow, and in all humility. I believe in certain ideals. I shall work for them irrespective of opprobrium or plaudits that I may receive. I have heard members of the Coalition Party cry "shame", "shame", when I was speaking on Monday last. On numerous occasions in the past, they have lustily cheered me. I have not been unduly elated by their cheers, nor am I disheartened at their condemnation. I want to do what I consider good, not for sectional interests, but for the province and the country at large. During a career which has seen many of the vicissitudes of life, fulsome praise or unmerited attack has never been able to swerve me from the path which I have considered right and just to tread. I only pray that I may be given sufficient strength to steadfastly pursue my ideals.

May I just, Sir, address a few words to my Muslim brethren? They are in charge of the administration of a highly cultured and pro-

gressive province like Bengal. Bengal has a rich history behind it,—a history of which all Bengalis, irrespective of their communal complexion, should be proud. Let our Muslim brethren, therefore, act in a spirit that will enhance the glory of Bengal and will entitle them to be considered by the civilised world as worthy of the legacy they have inherited.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: May I, Sir on behalf of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, my colleagues and myself say a few words on the speech of Mr. N. R. Sarker? I will not refer to the reasons which led Mr. Sarker to join the Cabinet or the reasons which have induced him to leave it. I will not dissect or analyse the speech which he has just made, but I will content myself with saying that the ideals which this Ministry set before it, namely, of service to the masses and of justice to all communities, we still cherish and maintain; we stand by them and should we swerve from them at any time we shall take the penalty which we deserve. Sir, it is a matter of great grief to us to part company from Mr. Sarker. We valued his co-operation. We have profited greatly by his wise counsel, his considered judgment, his ability and his experience. He has set a standard of financial administration that it is difficult for anyone to emulate, and to-day, Sir, I maintain that the financial credit of the province of Bengal ranks highest amongst the provinces of India by the manner in which he has husbanded its resources. We hope, Sir, that although he has left us, he does not leave us with any bitterness in his heart, and that we shall continue to profit by his co-operation and his support.

Mr. W. A. M. WALKER: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not propose to touch on the subject-matter of Mr. Sarker's statement, but I feel that we in this party should be showing a lack of appreciation if we did not say a few words regarding his services to this province. Members of this House are well aware that in the constitutional discussions which preceded the Government of India Act, in 1935, strong views were expressed here on both sides about the transfer of portfolios of Finance and of Law and Order. The decision rightly reached that they should be transferred has been abundantly vindicated in this province. In Bengal the most signal success of Provincial Autonomy has been the administration of Finance and of Law and Order unparalleled in other provinces. The signal services rendered to Bengal and to constitutional advancement by the honourable member for the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in the past three years have won the admiration and respect of every member of this party and of opinion far beyond this House. The honourable member has chosen a path of co-operation and has proved beyond doubt how far that path may lead in constructive effort for the country. We deeply regret that the exigencies of

party politics should have swept him from office. In politics all things are possible, and I make bold to say that when the temporary bitterness is passed the true merits of his achievements and his solid services will stand up all the more clearly in their true perspective as the foundation-stone of the provincial fabric in the new order. That foundation-stone, Sir, has been well and truly laid.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I and the *side* which I have the honour to represent in this House have listened with very great care and interest to the statement which has just been made by my honourable friend Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker. During the last two years and eight months there have been many occasions when I and those whom I represent in this House have differed from Mr. Sarker,—differed on matters of principle, differed on matters of policy, differed on matters of procedure. Nevertheless, I feel that I owe it to myself and to the party which I represent to say that we have all appreciated the dignified statement of Mr. Sarker this evening. His statement is no doubt most sober and temperate, but at the same time may I on behalf of myself and the party I represent congratulate him and say that it is stern and unbending. I hope the sternness and the unbending nature which he has displayed on the occasion of the War Resolution will in the near future be an asset to the Opposition. I hope he will place all his gifts in the service of the Opposition, in the service of all that is noble and good and great in the Opposition, and thereby contribute to the well-being of this province.

Financial business.

Mr. SPEAKER: Let us now resume the ordinary business of the House. Mr. Suhrawardy, will you move your motion?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Yes, Sir.

On the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, in exercise of the power conferred by section 81 read with sub-section (*1*) of section 80 of the Government of India Act, 1935, I beg to present the authenticated schedule annexed hereto specifying—

(*a*) in column 3 thereof certain supplementary grants made by the Bengal Legislative Assembly in respect of the year 1937-38; and

(*b*) in column 4 thereof certain supplementary sums required in 1937-38 to meet the expenditure charged on the revenues of the province of Bengal.

SCHEDULE.

Grant Nos.	Major heads.	Grants made by the Assembly.	Sums charged on the revenues.
1	2	3	4
		Rs.	Rs.
10	22—Interest on Debt and other obligations	..	11,488
15	30—Ports and Pilotage	7,239	..
19	38—Medical	..	2,330
20	39—Public Health	..	1,071
27	55—Superannuation Allowances and Pensions, etc.	68,302	.
28	56—Stationery and Printing	..	70
30	Interest Free Advances	11,476	.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: On the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, in exercise of the power conferred by section 81 read with sub-section (*1*) of section 80 of the Government of India Act, 1935, I beg to present the authenticateed schedule annexed hereto specifying—

(*a*) in column 3 thereof certain supplementary grants made for the year 1939-40 by the Bengal Legislative Assembly; and

(*b*) in column 4 thereof certain supplementary sums required to meet expenditure charged on the revenues of the province of Bengal during the year 1939-40.

SCHEDULE.

Grant Nos.	Major heads.	Grants made by the Assembly.	Sums charged on the revenues.
1	2	3	4
		Rs.	Rs.
8	13—Other Taxes and Duties	20,000	..
23	40—Agriculture	7,15,000	..
29	50—Civil Works	..	50,000
30	54—Famine Relief	6,74,000	..
35	Loans and Advances by Provincial Governments	47,50,000	10,000

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Amendment) Bill, 1939.

Clause 15.

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: Sir, I am not moving clauses (*2*), (*3*), (*4*) and (*5*). I am moving only the first part of the amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: I beg to move that for the proposed section 34 in clause 15, the following shall be substituted, namely:—

"34. (*1*) When an application under section 8 or a statement under sub-section (*1*) of section 13 includes any debt in respect of which a suit or other proceeding is pending before a Civil or Revenue Court or when an Appellate Officer entertains an appeal or a District Judge or an Additional District Judge entertains an application for revision relating to such a debt, the Board or the Appellate Officer or the District Judge or the Additional District Judge, as the case may be, shall give notice thereof to such court in the prescribed manner, and thereupon the suit or the proceeding shall be stayed until the Board has either dismissed the application in respect of such debt or made an award thereon or until the Appellate Officer has disposed of such appeal or the District Judge or the Additional District Judge has disposed of such application for revision, and if the Board or the Appellate Officer or District Judge or Additional District Judge includes any part of such debt in clause (*d*) of sub-section (*1*) of section 25 in the award or decides that the debt does not exist the suit or proceeding shall abate so far as it relates to such debt."

Explanation.—For the purpose of this section an execution proceeding for the sale of any property shall be deemed to be pending and the debt in respect of which the sale takes place shall be deemed to exist until such sale becomes absolute.

Now, Sir, so far as the first part is concerned, it is practically in consequence of what the House has already decided in respect of clauses 14 and 16A and this amendment seeks to give that power to the Revisional Authority to issue stay orders with respect to such matters pending before the Civil or Revenue Courts.

Although I did not move the other portions of this amendment, I ought to make it clear to the House at this stage that suggestions have been made to me to take action with respect to cases where the stay orders made by Boards in respect of sales held by Civil Courts but not confirmed, were vacated in view of certain judicial interpretation, causing a great hardship and injury to the debtors concerned. I have been approached also by a large number of people and suggestions have been made by which I have been requested to take action by way of another amending Bill to give protection to those persons whose properties were put to sale hurriedly at the time when this Bill was first published for general information. Again lots of suggestions have been made whereby it is requested that some legislative action should be taken to remedy the wrong which was caused to a number of people by means of hurried decrees and sales of properties just after the announcement of a measure of this nature was made by the late Governor of this Province, Sir John Anderson, some time in 1933.

Sir, these points were also mentioned at the time of the last Budget Debate over the demand of mine. Since then we have started finding out details as to the situation that has arisen in the different parts of the province. We are not yet in possession of all the information, but we hope to get all the data and information for this purpose so that it may be possible for Government to introduce an amending Bill for the purpose of remedying these wrongs, or at any rate, as far as it may be possible, with respect to all or any of these matters at an early date. But at the same time it must be made clear to the House that so far as the rights of *bona fide* third parties are concerned it is not designed to affect them. Sir, it is also requested that pending such action being taken, Government should issue a statement on the lines on which they are prepared to take action. I propose to do so in which I shall indicate that pending such legislative measure to be taken by Government, should anybody take to colourable transactions to avoid the consequence of the legislative measure, he will do so at his own risk.

Sir, with these few words I beg to move my amendment and hope that it will be accepted by the House.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick that for the proposed section 34 in clause 15, the following shall be substituted, namely:—

"34. (*1*) When an application under section 8 or a statement under sub-section (*1*) of section 13 includes any debt in respect of which a suit or other proceeding is pending before a Civil or Revenue Court or when an Appellate Officer entertains an appeal or a District Judge or an Additional District Judge entertains an application for revision relating to such a debt, the Board or the Appellate Officer or the District

Judge or the Additional District Judge, as the case may be, shall give notice thereof to such court in the prescribed manner, and thereupon the suit or the proceeding shall be stayed until the Board has either dismissed the application in respect of such debt or made an award thereon or until the Appellate Officer has disposed of such appeal or the District Judge or the Additional District Judge has disposed of such application for revision and if the Board or the Appellate Officer or District Judge or Additional District Judge includes any part of such debt in clause (*d*) of sub-section (*1*) of section 25 in the award, or decides that the debt does not exist, the suit or proceeding shall abate so far as it relates to such debt."

Explanation.—For the purpose of this section an execution proceeding for the sale of any property shall be deemed to be pending and the debt in respect of which the sale takes place shall be deemed to exist until such sale becomes absolute.

was then put and agreed to.

The motion that clause 15 as amended stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The motion that the Preamble stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: Sir, I beg to move that the Bill as settled in the Assembly be passed.

The motion that the Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Amendment) Bill, 1939, as settled in the Assembly be passed was then put and agreed to.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is there any business, Sir, left over from yesterday?

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: Sir, Ordinance resolution সম্বন্ধে কি হবে ?

Mr. SPEAKER: I shall put it to the vote.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: If there be no other business pending from yesterday, may I submit, Sir, that such of the "questions" as have not been answered may be disposed of, or they may be carried over to the next Session?

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the pending questions are concerned, I find that some of the Hon'ble Ministers are not here now, to answer the

supplementary questions. So far as the printed answers are concerned they are there. So, don't you think it better if they are carried over to the next session?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: If you are prepared to treat all these pending questions as unanswered, then it is all right. Mere placing on the table cannot be treated as answered.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not know of any definite rule on the subject and if Dr. Sanyal is going to point out that I am *ultra vires* I shall not be surprised (laughter). But I think it is only common-sense that the questions that have not been answered in the House actually, are questions which are to be left over. Any way that is my common-sense view. (DR. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: That is the rule also.) until the legal brains point out to the contrary.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: I suggest, Sir, that they should be carried over to the next session.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I conclude I think I should not make any remark about my personal views, but I owe it to the House to say that I deeply appreciate the services of the Hon'ble Mr. Sarker in so far as his duties to the House are concerned, and I do certainly express regret with all of you at his absence from the Finance Department. He will take his appreciation from me that he has always treated us, so far as the Assembly Department is concerned, with courtesy and consideration.

Prorogation.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have it at my command from His Excellency the Governor that the Assembly stands prorogued.

It being 6-38 p.m.—

The House was prorogued.

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